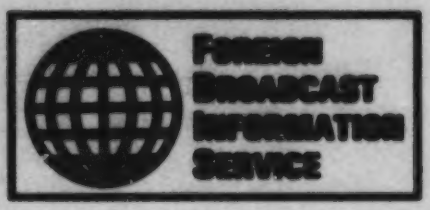

Daily Report

East Europe

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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-006 *10 January 1994*

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Izetbegovic-Tudjman Talks Open in Bonn

Germany's Kinkel Comments

LD0901182994 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 1752 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Bonn (DDP/ADN)—Germany's Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel this evening welcomed the presidents of Bosnia and Croatia, Alija Izetbegovic and Franjo Tudjman, at Petersberg near Bonn. [passage omitted]

Immediately after the welcoming ceremony in the marble hall of the government's guest house, the presidents, the mediators, and Kinkel withdrew to the conference hall. Kinkel intends to leave the scene of the negotiations following brief preliminary talks.

Kinkel previously disclosed that the talks are taking place at the initiative of himself and his French counterpart Alain Juppe. Kinkel voiced the hope that there would be "steps forward" at the talks. He added that he would leave this evening for advance talks prior to the NATO summit beginning in Brussels tomorrow. He wished the Bosnian-Croatian negotiations a "good outcome." The public will be advised of developments in the talks as soon as this is "worthwhile."

Talks Follow 'Old Pattern'

LD0901231394 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2250 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Excerpt] We have just received the latest report from Bonn. Jozo Curic has the latest news.

[Curic] The second round of talks between Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic ended several minutes ago. The talks were initiated by the Croats, and I have learned from well-informed sources that the talks followed the old pattern. The Muslims accept Croatian peace and cooperation proposals in general but reject individual specific elements. Presidents Izetbegovic and Tudjman will meet briefly tomorrow morning and this will be followed by a plenary meeting. [passage omitted]

Croatian Proposal Described

LD1001095794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Report by correspondent Jozo Culic in Bonn]

[Excerpt] The third round of the talks—initiated by the Croats—began in Bonn at 0900 today [10 January]. Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic, Mile Akmadzic, foreign minister of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, and adviser Martic and others are continuing their talks on a ceasefire, the delineation of borders, access to the sea at Ploce, and mutual Croat-Muslim relations in the future.

The details of the Croatian text—in which Zagreb, we have learned from well-informed sources, is seeking 17.5 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina for the Croats in the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and is not allowing the Muslims in any way to take control of Neum—have not been made public.

Izetbegovic last night agreed in principle to the Croat proposal that offers peace, but the Muslims are very tough when it comes to the details. It seems that the Muslims have objections regarding Mostar; in central Bosnia they are seeking to obtain virtually everything for themselves, and access to the sea is unresolved as far as they are concerned. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Presented 'Formal Proposal'

[Excerpts] Bonn, Jan 10 (AFP)—Bilateral peace talks between Bosnia's President Alija Izetbegovic and Croatia's Franjo Tudjman resumed here Monday [10 January] behind closed doors, diplomats said. [passage omitted]

The mediators Lord Owen for the European Community and Thorvald Stoltenberg for the United Nations are attending the talks, which are aimed at reaching a ceasefire between the two sides in central Bosnia and agreeing on the shape of a future Bosnian state. [passage omitted]

Germany is hosting the talks but Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel has stressed it is not acting as a mediator.

The Croatian press in Zagreb said Tudjman had informed Izetbegovic that he would ask "to use force against those carrying out offensives" in Bosnia if their summit in Bonn failed. Tudjman referred specifically to the new government army offensive around Vitez and Busovaca in central Bosnia, which Croat military sources say began Sunday.

According to the Croatian press, Tudjman presented Izetbegovic with "a formal Croatian proposal for a global settlement" of relations between Bosnian Croats and Moslems and between Bosnia and Croatia.

"If these negotiations do not yield results, Croatia will ask the United Nations, the European Union and NATO to use force against all those carrying out offensives," Tudjman is reported to have said in the presence of Kinkel, Owen and Stoltenberg.

Accord on Neum, Mostar Cited

AU1001123894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Bonn]

[Text] After a two-day delay the Croatian-Bosnian talks are in progress in Bonn. Presidents Izetbegovic and Tudjman are discussing three problems: halting the conflict between Croats and Muslims in central Bosnia, access to the sea near Neum, and the status of Mostar.

We have learned from sources in our delegation that some new initiatives have been proposed, primarily regarding access to the sea near Neum. We have learned that, according to the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation's proposal, both Neum and Mostar will be under European control for a period of two years. This means in practice that access to the sea near Neum will be joint, neither Croatian nor Bosnian, but both Croatian and Bosnian.

Mostar, like Sarajevo, will be an open city, but under European control. Under no circumstances can Mostar be the capital of the so-called Herceg-Bosnia or Croatian republic. The Croats will be allowed to have the seats of some of their (?institutions) in it. However, let me repeat, Mostar will not be the capital of the Croatian republic. This means that it will formally not be a part of any of the republics in the Bosnia-Herzegovina union, but it will belong to everyone. This is actually the solution recently proposed in Vienna by Prime Minister Silajdzic when he said: Mostar for Mostar's citizens. If the European governors manage to organize their authority in a satisfactory way, this will mean exactly that: All Mostar citizens will be able to return to their Mostar.

Let me just mention that, in addition to the two presidents, Izetbegovic and Tudjman, the other members of the Croatian-Bosnian delegations are Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic, Presidency member Ivo Komsic, and Muhamed Sacirebey, Bosnia-Herzegovina ambassador to the United Nations, on the Bosnian side, and Foreign Minister Mate Granic on the Croatian side. The so-called Herceg-Bosnia is being represented by Mile Akmadzic. Therefore, Mate Boban is not present. Does this mean that a great obstacle to the peace negotiations has been removed? Well-informed sources and politicians claim that Mr. Boban is already an ex-politician and Zagreb's ex-pet.

This has been Nada al-Isa reporting from Germany for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Zhelev Not To Seek Second Term

AU0901175894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Excerpts] On 9 January, President Zhelyu Zhelev answered questions put forth by listeners of Khorizont radio.

I hope that by the end of my mandate, in approximately three years, the basic reforms will have been implemented in Bulgaria. Afterward, other people can continue, the president said, stressing that he will not seek a second term as a president. [passage omitted]

If any political force tries to hinder settling the foreign debt issue, it would be committing an act of national treason, the president said. He noted that in his upcoming address to the National Assembly, he will stress the necessity of rapidly adopting the budget and the bills that are extremely necessary for foreign debt negotiations and the IMF agreement.

According to the president, it is very important to achieve a consensus in the parliament on measures needed by the country. He would like to see the meeting between Filip Dimitrov and Zhan Videnov contribute to this end. [passage omitted]

Zhelev Denies Rumors About Military Cabinet

AU0701160094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] In an interview with a Khorizont Radio Network representative, President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev expressed sharp disagreement with reports published in the 7 January 1994 issues of certain Bulgarian dailies regarding the functions and prerogatives of the president's military cabinet.

Dr. Zhelev described such materials as insinuations and as biased reports written at the the instruction of certain political forces. The president's spokesman, Valentin Stoyanov, is expected to make a statement on the subject of the military cabinet and its functions on Bulgarian National Radio and National Television later in the day.

Dr. Zhelev also commented on the recent meeting between representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] at the SDS headquarters, 134 Rakovski Street. The president described the meeting as the result of an acute internal crisis affecting both coalitions that evokes fear of democratic ideas.

Mr. Zhelev opposes the idea that parliament should appoint a caretaker government and that it should work during the period of preparation for the next elections.

Spokesman Denounces 'Slanders'

AU0701200094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Statement by Valentin Stoyanov, President Zhelev's spokesman—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Valentin Stoyanov, the president's spokesman, expressed his view on today's reports published by some newspapers and related to the functions and prerogatives of the president's military cabinet:

[Begin Stoyanov recording] Today a few Sofia dailies gave in to the manipulations of certain political centers and groups that are pursuing the goal of slandering the president of the Republic of Bulgaria.

Referring to a letter the president wrote on 22 November 1993 to the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army, some anonymous politicians and commentators are trying to insinuate that the president's military cabinet is either duplicating or substituting for the functions and prerogatives of the General Staff and the Ministry of Defense. Those gentlemen have evidently interpreted the letter in a totally biased way, like the devil reading the Bible, because at the very beginning of the letter it is stated as follows, and I quote:

The president's military cabinet as a whole, its chief, and the advisers on the different branches of service, have neither command nor control functions over the Ministry of Defense and the Bulgarian Army. It could not be stated more clearly than that.

We should add that the text was approved by the Ministry of Defense and by the chief of the General Staff and circulated among all military units in the form of a special letter.

Even more preposterous are the allegations that the president, by issuing Decree No. 269, intended to take over direct command of the Army. We should first carefully read the Constitution in order to understand the nature of the president's decrees, and then to realize that the decree in question is by no means secret and that whoever is interested in it can read it.

I am talking about a document that determines the duties of the military cabinet within the framework of the presidential institution.

Item 1 of the decree in question reads as follows, and I quote:

The military cabinet assists the president of the Republic of Bulgaria in exercising his functions as supreme commander in chief, by collecting, analyzing, and summing up informative data. The military cabinet has no leading or control functions whatsoever over the Armed Forces as a whole, or over any of their branches.

We feel obliged to confirm our impression that any step adopted by the president in connection with settling

mutual relations among the country's public institutions is treated with extreme hostility by certain political parties or civil servants.

The present attack is only part of a more extensive campaign aimed at discrediting the head of state.

Nevertheless, everyone should realize that if the president of the Republic of Bulgaria would have transgressed his prerogatives in any sphere whatsoever, if he had committed any act whatsoever in violating the Constitution, the authors of today's scenarios would have seriously demanded his resignation, as stipulated by the Constitution, rather than engaging in devious political machinations as they are doing today.

One of the goals of the current campaign is to introduce a split between the president, as commander in chief, and the Bulgarian Army. This is an attempt of undermining the foundations of the country's national security. Those who consider themselves good Bulgarian politicians could win public confidence by engaging in useful patriotic activities, rather than in futile plots and machinations, because all attempts at slandering other people are usually counterproductive.

It is high time to introduce a more civilized spirit into Bulgarian political life, because slanders and attempts at discrediting one's fellow citizens are placing Bulgaria in an awkward situation in the eyes of our own people and are making our country appear ridiculous in the eyes of the world.

The political plotters could engage in some more serious tasks serving Bulgaria's interests. [end recording]

Group Denounces Turks, Macedonians

AU0701212094 Sofia Bulgarska Televiziya Network in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Statement of the All-National Committee for the Defense of National Interests, on its fourth anniversary, read by unidentified speaker—live]

[Text] Dear compatriots, in these dramatic days of global social changes, when the erosion of the Bulgarian spirit is part of our difficult everyday life, a symbol of patriotism and national pride is more than ever necessary. The anniversary of our existence marked by indefatigable efforts for the homeland's sake is both an opportunity and an obligation to assess our work.

The All-National Committee for the Defense of National Interests is celebrating its fourth anniversary. This is a very young age for the dimensions of history, but it is sufficient to give evidence of political wisdom, of a new self-confidence, and of meaningful efforts.

Founded at a grandiose mass rally on 7 January 1990, which took place in front of the St. Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral [in the Sofia center], a rally which was prompted by the spontaneous wave of people's discontent in facing the emerging Turkish danger, the All-National Committee for the Defense of National Interests is the most extensive public organization in our country today.

The committee, precisely, is the reliable and unshakable guard watching over our national sovereignty, confronted with the dark shadow of the Pan-Islamic doctrine, which permitted the emergence of ethnic unrest and provocations. The committee has become a shield protecting the revival of the Bulgarian spirit.

We are now addressing you, our compatriots. We appeal to your faith and patriotism, in the hope that, all together, we shall jointly revive Bulgaria as a strong, prospering, and democratic country.

The All-National Committee for the Defense of National Interests guarantees that not even an inch of the Bulgarian soil shall be taken away, that no Bulgarian shall be Turkicized or turned into a Macedonian [makedoniziran]. In professing the truth that every citizen is equal before the law, we are following the postulates of our apostle of freedom, Vasil Levski, in repeating his everlasting principle: Life in our Bulgarian homeland should not be similar to life in a Turkish village.

We are convinced that all our compatriots, wherever they are throughout the world, are equal citizens of our homeland and children of mother Bulgaria. We shall always defend the rights of Bulgarians in Macedonia, Ukraine, Moldova, Yugoslavia, Romania, Albania, Turkey, Greece, the Commonwealth of Independent States, in Europe, and all over the world.

We resolutely condemn national nihilism and we shall severely hold responsible all traitors. We categorically declare that there is no place for the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] in a future parliament, nor is there place for any party whatsoever based on ethnic or religious principles.

We are against the genocide through which some kind of religious pseudo-movement and single-racial formations are dividing the Bulgarian nation and are creating contemporary ghettos for their supporters.

We declare ourselves in support of the civil disobedience and intellectual rebellion of the materially destitute and humiliated Bulgarian scientists, teachers, educators, physicians, engineers, economists, workers, peasants, and pensioners. We are in favor of a priority statute for our national capital.

We are siding with the Bulgarian youths who are the victims of irresponsible experiments, dooming them to unemployment and hopelessness. We are rejecting the anti-Bulgarian approach to the young generation. Bulgaria belongs to you, young friends, do not leave it to others. It shall be the country which we all are going to create.

We are also addressing our Bulgarian women with hopeful confidence. Mothers of the homeland, let us protect together the national ideals and interests, the lives, efforts, and future prosperity of your children. We are in favor of social protection and support the nation's biological survival. We are against the slandering and disgracing of those who created Bulgaria in ancient times and in our contemporary history.

We are watching the developments in the Rhodope area with concern. Let us raise our voice of warning against all unpatriotic elements. Bulgarian Muslims are Bulgarians just like all of us, like all Eastern Orthodox, Catholics, Protestants, and atheists in Bulgaria.

We shall never permit the poison of Macedonianism to corrupt the souls of Bulgarians in the Pirin area and in Vardar Macedonia. It is justified to fight the relapses into Macedonianism with fire and sword.

No Macedonian nation or language whatsoever exist. Our brothers in the Vardar area must be granted the right of free, ethnic, self-identification.

We appeal for the integration with the peoples belonging to Christian civilization, for integration with the ancient values of Europe, an insuperable part of which we have always been.

Once more we would like to recall our feelings of sympathy and friendship with Russia. This glorious Slavonic country was a great positive factor for the birth of the Third Bulgarian State. Today, when Russia is going through difficulties and privations, despite all things, we are convinced that its historical existence shall always be a factor of peace and stability in the world, in Europe, and the Balkans.

We respect and appreciate the remarkable democratic values created by the brilliant minds of numerous U.S. citizens. We shall always remember the words of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, the great founders of the United States, that freedom is the greatest benefit of mankind. We are proud that hundreds of thousands of Bulgarians have participated in the building of the economically most powerful state in the world, as its equal citizens, and that one of them even invented the computer.

We would like to strengthen the traditional cooperation and the spirit of understanding with Germany. Our joint victories and defeats have taught us that nothing is more valuable than a hand of assistance offered in hard times.

Dear compatriots, four years ago, the All-National Committee lit the spark of Bulgarian patriotism and nationalism. Today the spark is growing into a flame. Tomorrow it shall light the fire of purification and rebirth. The only principle worth announcing shall be: Bulgaria above everything.

Importance of Greek EU Presidency Viewed

AU0701141294 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 5 Jan 94 p 6

[Commentary by Atanas Matev: "Own Choice"]

[Text] According to a promise made by Theodhoros Pangalos, Greece's alternate minister of foreign affairs responsible for European issues, Greece will not exploit its six-month presidency of the European Union to further its foreign policy aims.

This sounds all very fine, but the other EU countries do not accept his words on faith, but will judge the Greek presidency by its actions. For one cannot assume from the outset that Athens will not succumb to the temptation of promoting its own interests in its relations with Bulgaria, relying on the authority and opportunities offered by its term of leadership of the European Union that has just begun.

The EU presidency provides great opportunities to the country exercising its functions. One such opportunity—and a very important one—is that the country in question determines the agendas of the various EU bodies, and can speed up or slow down the consideration of important problems.

For Bulgaria, this is of great importance. For a number of reasons, a slowdown occurred in Bulgaria's relations with the European Union, which it is now necessary to make good. Greece is able to help or hinder this process.

Athens is perfectly well aware of this. It also knows that certain profound differences exist in Bulgarian-Greek relations regarding Balkan problems, such as the Macedonian question.

It is up to Greece to decide whether or not it wants Bulgaria's relations with the European Union to expand.

It is also up to Bulgaria to decide how to respond to any particular situation, and its response should be an honorable one.

Podkrepa Plans Antigovernment National Strike

AU0901180594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] The Podkrepa National Strike Committee held a meeting today at the headquarters of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, which was attended by representatives of the strike committees of 15 federations and 21 regions throughout the country.

The participants adopted a draft decision, which notes that a strike situation exists in the country. The General Assembly proposes to the Podkrepa Executive and Federative Councils to complete the preparations for national strike activities by 1 February. Those activities will be aimed, I quote, against the antihuman and antisocial policy of Professor Berov's government.

The draft decision will be submitted to the Podkrepa Federative Council, which is scheduled to meet on 16-17 January in Blagoevgrad.

Albright, Shalikashvili Arrive in Prague

LD0901182894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, and John Shalikashvili, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, arrived in Prague today. Our special correspondent Miroslav Konvalina was at the airport. He managed brief interviews with them:

[Begin recording] [Konvalina] Shortly after 1700, a Boeing landed at Ruzyne airport after a flight from Bratislava, carrying members of the U.S. Government team responsible for the preparation of the coming visit by Bill Clinton to Prague. The delegation, which previously had talks in Poland, Hungary, and the Slovak Republic, is headed by Madeleine Albright, special envoy of the United States for the preparation of the coming NATO summit in Brussels, and John Shalikashvili, chairman of the U.S. Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff. They were met by Adrian Basora, U.S. ambassador to the Czech republic, Alexandr Vondra, Czech first deputy foreign minister, and Michael Zantovsky, Czech ambassador to the United States.

Ambassador Albright then answered only two questions, both for Czech Radio. First she said she was expecting from the Prague visit agreement on what is necessary for a good summit in Brussels and then she said, answering the second question, that she did not anticipatate any open questions between the Czech Republic and the United States.

Before his departure from the airport, General John Shalikashvili replied to a question by Czech Radio as to what he was expecting from tomorrow's meeting. He said: I look forward to it and I expect a lot from it.

I asked the general if there were still open questions between the Visegrad countries and NATO concerning the "Partnership for Peace" initiative. Gen. Shalikashvili replied: I am coming with three tasks. First, we want to assure our colleagues in Prague that the United States is interested in the security of the Czech Republic and its stability. Further, we want to hear the views of the hosts and their apprehensions. Third, we want to reply to all questions concerning the Partership for Peace initiative, which will be discussed at the coming summit in Brussels tomorrow.

Madeleine Albright and John Shalikashvili have a private program tonight. Tomorrow they will meet the Czech prime minister, the defense minister, and the foreign minister and will leave for Brussels in the afternoon to attend the NATO summit, where Madeleine Albright will play a lead role in the U.S. presidential delegation. On Tuesday, the two U.S. guests will again return to Prague, accompanied by Bill Clinton.

Envoys Address Parliament

LD1001112994 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0900 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] [Announcer] Madeleine Albright, ambassadress of the United States to the United Nations, and General John Shalikashvili, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, visited the Czech Parliament today. More information from Ilona Dienstbierova.

[Dienstbierova] Shortly after 0900, the U.S. guests were received by Jiri Payne and Vladimir Suman, chairmen of the parliament Foreign Affairs and Defense and Security Committees. The U.S. Government member and Madeleine Albright stated at the very beginning the aim of this mission. Together with Gen. John Shalikashvili, they want to listen to our questions, to get to know the views of the Czech representatives, and to discuss them. The United States wants us to know that the security of the Central European region is of direct interest, not only of U.S. interest but also of the alliance's.

The security of the Czech Republic and of the whole area of countries between Russia and the West will directly influence U.S. security, Albright went on to say. There should be no doubt about U.S. interests in Europe as a whole. The U.S. ambassadress to the United Nations recalled that President Clinton committed himself to keeping U.S. forces in Europe.

As far as the Partnership for Peace is concerned, Albright thinks that the U.S. President understands this plan as an important initiative. She went on to say that there were evolutionary and dynamic aspects to this plan. It is a concept that would enable every country to pick up the ball and run with it. Partnership for Peace is a pledged responsibility and also represents shared values, Albright stated in the Czech Parliament a few minutes ago. At this moment, the closed meeting with Gen. Shalikashvili is also coming to an end.

Havel Comments on NATO Before Clinton Visit

LD0901212394 Prague CT-1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] In connection with the coming visit of U.S. President Bill Clinton to Prague, President of the Republic Vaclav Havel granted an interview today to Czech Television:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified interviewer] What program and what aims will you have at these historical talks?

[Havel] The Czech Republic naturally has its views not only on the "Partnership for Peace" plan, not only on the future of the North Atlantic Alliance, its identity, its position, and its meaning, but also on the overall security situation in Europe. Naturally, we would like to convey this view to the U.S. side. We would be glad if there were a dialogue; we should not just be told things.

[Interviewer] No one in the West denies that NATO is going through an identity crisis. How do you think NATO should solve this crisis and, together with it, the question of security in Europe?

[Havel] NATO has realized that, in the new situation of the end of the Cold War, its doctrine, its meaning, its position, and its role in Europe have to change, and it has been working on it.

It may appear from our viewpoint that it has been working on it far too slowly, that the situation would require greater courage, greater magnanimity, a faster rate. But I think it cannot be disputed that this alliance, as the strongest and the only functioning one, should be a kind of a stabilizing core of all European security. There are differences in the ideas as to what technique to use, what speed and so on. [end recording]

Havel on Clinton Visit to Prague

LD0901164594 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Vaclav Pavrovsky at Lany presidential residence; date not given; from the "Conversations at Lany" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Pavrovsky] The most important event at the present time is undoubtedly President Clinton's visit to Prague. It seems that its focal point lies in the preparation for the incorporation into NATO of the Czech Republic, and also of other postcommunist states. After all, this is confirmed by the visit of Madeleine Albright and General John Shalikashvili. They are coming with the "Partnership for Peace" plan. Or am I mistaken? Are there other important matters related to this visit?

[Havel] I consider it a privilege for our republic that President Clinton will stop here during his important European tour and that it is here that he will be meeting representatives of neighboring countries. I myself consider this to be an expression of respect for the successes of the Czech Republic, an expression of recognition of the traditionally good U.S.-Czech relations.

The main, although certainly not the only, subject of our talks will probably be our position in the newly shaping European order, which will relate not only to security.

President Clinton will arrive from Brussels, where the NATO summit is taking place, and he will probably interpret the "Partnership for Peace" plan to us. We will expound our attitude toward it.

At the same time, however, there are more things at stake here. What this is really about is where we belong and what values of civilization we acknowledge. I am sure that there will be an opportunity to raise this because I know that President Clinton is a man capable of listening to others. I myself was surprised when I visited him in Washington to find how little he talked himself and how much he asked. He is a man who is curious about the other person's opinion, who is open to knowledge, who wants to be informed, and I think these are also the prerequisites for our being able to express our views.

[Pavrovsky] Mr. President, you have undoubtedly very good memories of President Bush, President Clinton's predecessor. If you were to recall all this and if you were to comment on the differences between these two administrations or in U.S. policy, what would you say? It is in effect a change of party in the U.S. Government.

[Havel] [passage omitted] My personal relationship with President Bush was excellent, and my cooperation with the Republican administration was good. We certainly have not forgotten what the previous administration did to boost our good relations. It was at the time when we got rid of communism, and the United States treated us in a very accommodating manner.

The situation has changed, however. There is a new administration, and we shall naturally be seeking good relations with this administration. In the spiritual ethos of a Democratic administration, there is something that is close to my heart. I mentioned this on more than one occasion in our previous conversations. I hope that this will have a favorable impact on the serious political negotiations we shall have.

[Pavrovsky] Slovakia and other postcommunist countries think that they should enter NATO or make joint moves leading to their entering NATO. Defense Minister Antonin Baudys said on behalf of the Czech Republic that this should happen on an individual basis.

[Havel] Czech policy lays correct emphasis on the fact that we are independent countries that have to act on their own and that have to follow their own interests. We cannot forever be tarred with the same brush of being postcommunist countries, or former Warsaw Pact members, and so on and so forth.

However, that does not at all mean that we should not maintain the best possible relations with our immediate neighbors. I believe we will have an opportunity to emphasize on behalf of the Czech Republic that our position does not at all mean that we do not want to cooperate on all levels where it is advantageous for all the participants, or that we wish to elevate ourselves above others. We shall be able to emphasize that we are independent states. The world will have to get used to this fact and will have to shed the tendency to tar certain countries with the same brush and make life easier by inadvertently pushing them into forming a bloc because it is quicker to negotiate with a bloc than separately with each of the countries.

[Pavrovsky] Attempts by postcommunist countries to join NATO are very strongly opposed by the Russian leadership. Mr. President, what do you think about Mr. Zhirinovskiy's actions and behavior?

[Havel] To be honest, I am not very much interested in Mr. Zhirinovskiy's rather wild pronouncements. What I am interested in is to what extent he voices openly and harshly something that has lain dormant in the consciousness of Russian society and whether others do not express such cruel harshness just because it is inappropriate to do so. That is a matter that would be worth exploring, rather than exploring Mr. Zhirinovskiy as a phenomenon. [passage omitted]

[Pavrovsky] Mrs. Rita Klimova, the first envoy of our state to the United States, has died. I know you were friends.

[Havel] I ought to say that her death was quite painful for me. I held her in high esteem as a very frank, courageous, and wise woman. She was a splendid ambassador of our country to the United States and did a great deal for our republic. [passage omitted]

Klaus To Discuss Security With Clinton

AU0701134594 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 5 Jan 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci; place and date not given: "The Regular DENNI TELEGRAF Interview With Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Krejci] Is it true that the Czech side wanted to meet with U.S. President Clinton individually but the U.S. side and the other countries of the Visegrad Group did not like the idea?

[Klaus] When the news first appeared that President Clinton would be visiting Prague after the Brussels NATO summit ends, no one doubted—and the opposite did not even cross anyone's mind—that he would use the visit to Prague to meet with the representatives of the governments of all four countries of Central and Eastern Europe—that is, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, and the Slovak Republic. It was never even considered that we would be the only ones to talk with him. On the other hand, collective talks have not been considered, either. His stopover is simply used for a parallel meeting with four delegations.

[Krejci] What will be, for the Czech side, the main topic of this meeting?

[Klaus] The meeting with President Clinton is certainly the most important point for us because it is a very important signal for the entire world that President Clinton has chosen Prague in particular for this meeting between the NATO summit and his visit to Moscow. The official talks will be relatively brief and the matter of external security will be of greater importance because the visit will follow the NATO session. [passage omitted]

Baudys Denies Movement Away From Visegrad

LD0701174094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Defense Minister Antonin Baudys today rejected speculation that the Czech Republic is setting itself apart from the Visegrad Group. With regard to his canceled trip to Warsaw, Baudys said that his deputy, Jiri Pospisil, is well qualified to fully cover for him.

According to Minister Baudys, the envisaged visit by President Bill Clinton is an exceptional event. However, the minister noted that the Army is not preparing any extraordinary measures or alert. The only measure is that the military police will cooperate with the municipal police, the Interior Ministry, and other bodies, in order to protect public order.

Deputy Minister on Differences in Group

LD0701211994 Prague CT 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] We had to explain to our partners in Warsaw that the Czech Republic intends to join NATO as soon as possible. It does not really matter whether this happens jointly or on an individual basis. This is what Czech Deputy Defense Minister Jiri Pospisil said shortly after his arrival by air from Warsaw.

He also explained to the Visegrad defense ministers in the Polish capital that our side regards the "Partnership for Peace" plan as the maximum of what NATO is able to grant to us at the present time. It is also regarded as a minimum designed to ensure that security requirements are met.

The sides that attended the Warsaw meeting expressed their unequivocal consent with Partnership for Peace. However, Deputy Minister Pospisil admitted that there are differences as regards the considerations regarding the possible coordination of a joint approach to NATO. While Poland and Slovakia favor this option, Hungary's stance appears to be closer to the Czech stance.

Polish President Walesa, who met the ministers, pointed out that, first and foremost, it should be the Czech Republic that should make use of the historical opportunity of joining NATO. If it does not do so, Poland will reportedly look for new partners. But I do not know which countries he meant, Jiri Pospisil said.

Arms Group's Production Plans, Aims Described

AU0901145294 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 6 Jan 94 p 6

[Article by Pavel Novotny: "RDP Group: 'The Aim of Our Activity Is Coordination'"]

[Text] Prague—The RDP Group, the shareholding company comprising arms, engineering, and metallurgical plants, has the task of coordinating among its members a course of action for developing and implementing new

products. Its capital of 40 million korunas, otherwise quite negligible in this field, merely supports the company's relevant activity, said RDP Press Spokesman Jiri Vich in an interview with us.

The RDP Group does not have an actual plan of activity. Its foreign trade ventures are regulated by the business law and the other laws the government has adopted in this sphere. In view of the delicate nature of the arms production issue, he stated that "substantial and regular" consultations are held with the Foreign Ministry. Furthermore, Deputy Trade and Industry Minister Radomir Sabela takes part in all of the board meetings. It cooperates with Jan Ruml's ministry in testing new products. "We ensure that our activity is clean and above board," says Jiri Vich.

As far as the customers for our arms plants' products are concerned, the Czech Army apparently is interested in 200 of the modernized CZ 2000 tanks. However, the military will have a clearer idea about the kind of hardware it needs sometime in the middle of this year. The RDP is keeping in touch with the Defense Ministry and its experts. The governments of the Baltic republics are also potential customers. The first contacts were forged with them during Foreign Minister Zieleniec's official visit. "We are looking for serious customers that are not under an embargo," concludes Jiri Vich.

The RDP Group is not a trust and has no ambitions to become one. According to its press spokesman, it is trying to "keep together the special teams of experts we have." It believes that the chances of success in the market environment, first and foremost, for the smaller enterprises with a high percentage of special (read military) production will increase in a "geometric sequence" by means of advantageous cooperation. "We are their entrepreneurial device," said the spokesman, when he described his company's relationship with its shareholders.

Apart from modernizing the T-72 tank (the new product is called CZ 2000), the RDP Group is planning the "Overland" project. This is a military all-terrain vehicle with a Peugeot engine and transmission produced in cooperation with a French partner. At the moment, it is being tested by the Interior Ministry. Meanwhile, a secret product, "MARREL," apparently should make a contribution to the environment. So, to civilian production. Jiri Vich emphasized that the RDP Group wants, prospectively, to coordinate only 20 percent of military production up to the year 2000. Current production is dual, which means that some elements can also be used in the civilian sector.

Jiri Vich commented that the RDP Group is negotiating, first and foremost, on the transfer of "know-how" and new technology to the Czech Republic. Let us hope that weapons will not journey in the opposite direction toward regions where the entire democratic world does not want to see them.

Central Bank Governor Interviewed on Economy

AU0701174294 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Jan 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Czech National Bank Governor Josef Tosovsky by Martin Frydl; place and date not given: "There Are More Banks in the Czech Republic Than Is Healthy"]

[Text] [Frydl] Sir, what was the Czech National Bank's greatest success and failure in 1993, in your view?

[Tosovsky] The relatively stable purchasing power of our currency is the central bank's good result, and so is the creation of the new currency. In less than 10 months, we have completely replaced all of the currency in circulation. Greatest failure? Maybe the problems in the banking system. Specifically, problems in some smaller commercial banks that still do not have the skills to be able to evaluate risks cautiously.

[Frydl] In its projects up to 2000, the government foresees the growth of the GDP by 3.5 percent a year. According to some experts, this is too little to catch up with developed countries. Will it be necessary to "fuel" the Czech economy, now or in the future, by incurring a reasonable amount of deficits, for example?

[Tosovsky] This cannot be ruled out. At present, however, I would not evaluate the economic development by looking at one figure, albeit an important figure, such as the growth of the GDP. Our economy is undergoing principal transformation today. We are witnessing a decline in output, mainly in the primary sector, and growth in the secondary and tertiary sectors. Large enterprises are gradually giving up activities that have no prospects. These giants are undergoing a reduction diet. Look at the numbers of employees. Tens of thousands of people have left the industry and agriculture sectors and began working in services, trade, and private enterprises. Many people began working in banks. GNP growth is around zero, or slightly under zero this year. This represents the same sum of values as last year, or slightly less, but the quality of products and services is substantially different.

[Frydl] What would a budget deficit do to the economy, and when would it be possible to take such a step?

[Tosovsky] Budget deficits provide a possibility to stimulate demand in the economy and give the supplying side the opportunity to develop. Depending on the type of spending, deficits may have a multiplicative effect, however. In our current conditions, it would not be a step in the correct direction. Most likely it would have an impact on the price index and the growth of inflation. We do not believe that there is little liquidity or shortage of cash in the economy. A certain surplus has been caused by the influx of foreign capital in recent months. Aggregate demand is quite sufficient, but its weight is in private consumption rather than in investments. We would like to see more investments.

[Frydl] It seems that, instead of direct investments, portfolio investments are being preferred. Does such foreign capital bring what we need—that is, technology, markets, etc.?

[Tosovsky] We are not monitoring the utilization of foreign capital, only overall figures. It ensues from these figures that direct investments are actually declining. In previous periods, every year there were large projects, such as the Skoda-Volkswagen, or Philip Morris this spring. Such cases do not happen anymore, which has reduced the amount of direct investments. However, the number of investors has not declined. Direct credits from abroad—that is, credits from a foreign bank directly to our enterprises—are growing strongly. Very often our enterprise has a partner abroad, possibly a buyer of its goods, who provides guarantees to the bank, and the credit can be granted that way. Our entrepreneur is on his own; he does not have to establish a joint venture, but he accepts credits instead. For the money he receives, he buys new machines and improves his ability to export. The fact is that overall imports are growing, and machines and equipment, bought either directly or on lease, are a very important item in imports. According to an estimate, the portfolio investments—that is, the purchase of securities—reached between $100,000,000 and $150,000,000. This is only the beginning.

[Frydl] The stability of the portfolio investments is a problem, however. Are you not afraid of the movement of capital on our market while there is low liquidity? Does the money flowing to our country represent really well-considered and long-term investments, or is it "money adventurers" who are investing here?

[Tosovsky] Small and large investors have shown an interest. Recently, we noticed the interest of larger investors—institutional investors—such as pension funds and similar institutions. Of course, large sums can be moved quickly like that. However, the liquidity on our capital market is high enough not to pose a substantial danger.

[Frydl] Do you agree with the opinion that banks should initiate bankruptcies? If the banks initiated bankruptcies, what effect would ait have on the economic situation of the banks?

[Tosovsky] Bankruptcies in the neighboring countries, particularly in Hungary, are essentially solutions to some problems of the past. We have already dealt with these problems in a certain way. We have balanced the bank's accounts, written off the debt of certain enterprises, established the Consolidation Bank, and provided new capital to commercial banks. That is, we have already worked on the old debt problem; therefore, we do not have to initiate bankruptcies on such a scale as elsewhere. It is not necessary to throw away the names of the companies that still have a good reputation, or traditions that still have some value. Of course, the banks are considering every individual case and behave in such a manner so as not to cause damage to themselves. According to information provided to us, some bankruptcy proceedings have been launched, but the courts' capacity is insufficient.

[Frydl] What are the Czech National Bank's monetary goals this year?

[Tosovsky] Our principal objective is to keep control over the price development. We want to keep the inflation rate under 10 percent. The government will take more deregulating steps this year and will increase certain prices, those that are still in the government's jurisdiction. This should increase the price index by some 2 percent next year. We are anticipating a monthly price growth of 0.5 percent. However, there are more factors influencing prices—wages, the state budget, just to mention the most important ones. To apply our monetary policy with the aim of lowering the interest rates is another main objective. We are getting prepared for the koruna's full convertibility, and we want to make our interest rates commensurate with those abroad. We cannot have the convertible koruna and interest rates several points higher than in the neighboring countries. Our goal will be to cut the interest rates, particularly interest on credit.

[Frydl] What should the money supply and the credit expansion look like this year?

[Tosovsky] The applicable figures have been published. We are anticipating an increase in money supply of 12-15 percent, approximately 10 percent inflation, and 2 percent growth of the GDP. In the beginning, we will be achieving the lower numbers. The monetary policy will be neutral. We still have a certain capacity for slight expansion.

[Frydl] Can you tell your opinion on cooperation between the Czech National Bank and the Finance Ministry? These institutions usually have contradictory objectives and roles.

[Tosovsky] At the most recent meeting of the Banking Council, the finance minister was also present, to which is he entitled by law, and we are quite happy that he uses this right from time to time. We discussed better harmonization between the fiscal and the monetary policy, which will become our key to success this year. As I said, the state budget is one of the independent factors in the money supply situation, which the central bank cannot influence directly. It is therefore necessary to know the trends of budgetary developments and the government's intentions and to closely cooperate. It seems that both sides are prepared for that.

[Frydl] The Czech National Bank is working on the introduction of the koruna's full convertibility. Could you tell us how far you want to go in liberalizing the capital account?

[Tosovsky] It may seem improbable, but our system is quite close to full convertibility. In principle, three

things are involved. The limit on foreign currency purchases by the population will be abolished, the obligation of the exporter to offer foreign currency to the bank for purchase will be abolished, and the export of capital will be liberalized. When this happens, we only have to address foreign banks, open an account in our currency, and make foreign payments in korunas. We want to achieve this situation—that is, full liberalization—also on the capital account of the balance of payments [sentence as published].

[Frydl] How do you view the Czech Republic's position in the world economic organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank?

[Tosovsky] Our position remains the same. In the International Monetary Fund we have the position of the countries that are providing assistance to other countries. In 1990, we renewed our membership as a country that needed assistance. This is quite a good result, which we achieved in such a short time.

[Frydl] Do we have enough commercial banks? What should be their optimum number?

[Tosovsky] The number of banks is essentially an uninteresting number. We do not judge the situation according to that number. There should be as many banks as required to provide all of the needed services on the standard level. This is not the case in our country, not yet. Nevertheless, it seems that all those banks on the market are an unhealthy situation. We expect that their number will be reduced, some of them will merge, and the banking services provided to clients will improve and become of better quality.

[Frydl] The "retail banking" system—that is, really complex services for regular clients—is closely linked to this issue.

[Tosovsky] We have enough branches, but the quality of services must improve and their variety increase.

[Frydl] In your opinion, why have the foreign banks not engaged themselves in this sphere?

[Tosovsky] I cannot say that they would completely avoid this market, but it would mean for them to build a network of branches, which is expensive and slow.

Kovac Meets U.S. Envoys, Hails 'Partnership'

LD0901163794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Madeleine Albright and General John Shalikashvili, special envoys of the U.S. President, had talks with Slovak President Michal Kovac and other constitutional representatives today. Our correspondent Renata Havranova, editor of the daily PRACE, sent us this report:

[Begin Havranova recording] While Madeleine Albright talked to Slovak President Kovac, Gen. Shalikashvili held talks with Slovak Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak. Both representatives of the U.S. side later, at a brief news conference, expressed their great satisfaction with the course of all meetings with Slovak representatives. In their opinion, it is evident from these meetings that Slovakia can become the first country of Central Europe to sign the U.S.-proposed Partnership for Peace plan. Gen. Shalikashvili added that Slovakia had understood the U.S. intention to aid the stability and security of Europe by this plan without creating new dividing lines.

President Kovac replied to a question asking if he presented his recently published counter proposal to the U.S. guests by saying that he never had any counter proposal. On the contrary, he appreciates that the central motive of the Brussels summit will be a decision to build a qualitatively new relationship between NATO and other countries of Europe. The U.S. endeavor to support the security of our continent as a whole is, according to Kovac, self-evident. The Partnership for Peace plan is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity and also an instrument for Slovakia and other countries to draw closer to NATO. It is also an opportunity to expand the security and stability zone further east, the president said. Kovac went on to say that the Slovak Republic wanted to become an active participant in the Partnership for Peace plan. However, Slovakia expects that the acceptance of the other side, irrespective of its form, will also constitute a definitive decision about the geopolitical incorporation of the Slovak Republic into the NATO sphere of interests.

According to Kovac, through Partnership for Peace, the Slovak Republic has conclusively claimed its allegiance to Western states. [end recording]

'Partnership for Peace' Plan Supported in Memo

LD0701212694 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Jan Lisuch, state secretary in the Slovak Foreign Ministry, handed a memorandum about the coming NATO summit to the representatives of embassies from NATO member states, and of the Visegrad Four countries based in Bratislava. Ivan Mjartan, the Slovak ambassador in the Czech Republic, handed the same text simultaneously to the ambassadors of NATO member states based in Prague.

The memorandum states, among other things, that our Republic holds in high esteem the NATO project, also known as Partnership for Peace, initialled by the U.S. Government, and is prepared to join it and take an active part in projects and missions organized within its framework. This project will undoubtedly contribute to markedly intensified cooperation between Slovakia and NATO and its member states in political and military issues.

Washington Charge d'Affaires on U.S. Ties

AU0801180294 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 5 Jan 94 p 6

[Report on interview with Peter Burian, charge d'affaires in Washington, by TA SR reporter Otakar Korinek, in Washington; date not given: "The Basis for Development of Relations With the United States"]

[Text] "In 1993, a sufficient basis for the functioning of normal bilateral relations between the United States and Slovakia was established. This process was exceptionally dynamic and smooth. From this point of view, the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Slovak Republic was very important, and so was the fact that Slovakia, as one of the successor states, took over treaties and obligations between the former CSFR and the United States," Peter Burian, charge d'affaires in Washington, told a TA SR reporter.

In 1994, the work of the ambassador will be to strengthen economic and commercial contacts. The interest of U.S. firms, such as Westinghouse and others, in investing in Slovakia is a positive factor. Moreover, we succeeded in establishing continuous working contracts with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The conclusion of the treaty on avoiding double taxation between the United States and Slovakia was an important factor in the development of our trading contacts. Burian described as a success of our diplomacy the establishment of the conditions for Slovakia's being taken off the list of countries to which the United States does not export advanced technology (COCOM). According to Burian, the final decision is expected in the days to come.

"In the political sphere, we are going to invite a high U.S. official to Slovakia. There are many occasions for it, such as the 50th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising," Burian said. He stressed that the basis for active relations was established in 1993 after the visit of the president, the prime minister, the National Council chairman, and other ministers and Slovak officials to the United States.

The work of the ambassador and pushing for the Slovak Republic's interests, in general, was complicated, to a certain extent, by the negative publicity about development in the Slovak Republic. Some sectors are underestimating the importance and the tasks of the embassy. They should address the embassy as the primary source

of information and consult it about the preparation of any action having an impact on bilateral contacts. Otherwise, the embassy has to act as a fire brigade. Burian sees certain possibilities in cooperation with the community of Slovak countrymen. The activity of the World Congress of Slovaks, headed by a new leadership, is quite a pleasant thing. The premises for the embassy are a problem that still has not been sorted out. "In Washington, there is an unwritten law regarding prestigious matters. One of them is the fact that the flag of a state should be fixed in a certain place on the building. Even this helps build respect for one state or another in the U.S. capital." Burian described as very important the fact that, in January, the Slovak ambassador will arrive in the United States.

Kovac on Presidential Role, HZDS Government

AU0901144394 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 3 Jan 94 p 12

[Interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac by E. Fasung; place and date not given: "He Is Trying To Be Himself"—reprinted from Issue No. 1 of the weekly PLUS 7 DNI]

[Text] "According to the most recent public opinion polls, you have become the most trustworthy Slovak politician. To what do you attribute this trust?" asks E. Fasung in an interview with President Michal Kovac in PLUS 7 DNI [Plus Seven Days] No. 1.

[Kovac] Already, while being sworn in, I declared my intention to be the president of all citizens. In my conduct, I want to fully live up to these words. I believe that a steadily growing number of citizens of the Slovak Republic realizes the sincerity of this effort of mine. I am trying to be myself, independent of parties and the government.

[Fasung] Efforts have recently appeared that were aimed at your scandalization. Do you think this was a reaction to the fact that you also uphold ideas other than those held by the ruling movement?

[Kovac] The scandalization of politicians is nothing new on our domestic political scene. Unfortunately, it testifies to the low standard of political culture that has struck roots here. It is important that we learn to deal with problems in a businesslike way, that we learn to rise above personal disputes or different political views, and that we learn to see even in a political opponent a partner who has the same interest in resolving the complicated situation in which Slovakia finds itself.

The present government emerged from the results of free and democratic elections and acquired a regular mandate for a four-year electoral term. In the event that the National Council of the Slovak Republic deputies arrives at the opinion that it is not functional, they have the constitutional right to pass a vote of no-confidence in it. In that case, following an agreement with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and consultations with other parties, I would appoint as prime minister a different personality, and ask it to form a new government. However, I cannot imagine this to be a government, in which the HZDS, which won the parliamentary elections, would not be represented. I am convinced that Slovakia needs a broad coalition government formed around the HZDS. Another possibility is to shorten the electoral term and call early elections, from which a new parliament and a new government would emerge, which, however, would have to be formed with the assistance of several parties. I consider it premature to speak about a specific person that I would ask to form a new government.

[Fasung] What is your relationship with Mr. Meciar? Do you also meet privately, or only in the course of your work?

[Kovac] My relations with the prime minister could be described as working relations.

Kovac Considers Decision on RFE 'Rash'

AU0801191794 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 4 Jan 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Roman Hofbauer's Rash Decision; Deputy Prime Minister on the Radio Free Europe Affair"]

[Text] Bratislava—In the opinion of Roman Kovac, deputy prime minister responsible for media policy, the decision by Roman Hofbauer, minister of transportation, communications, and public works, to end the operation of the U.S. Radio Free Europe [RFE] radio station in Slovakia is rash, and he does not consider it fortunate. Minister Hofbauer had not consulted this step with him, and he personally learned about it only from the press.

According to Roman Kovac, the Slovak Government has for some time had objections to the legal purity of the contract with the RFE, as well as to the nature of its broadcasts. "We do have serious reservations about the very small number of listeners of this radio station, which uses one of the best radio frequencies, reaching practically into Slovakia's every village," Roman Kovac stressed. He does not perceive this decision as a matter that would interfere with the plurality of views, but he believes that it is not good to resort to such a sharp step without previous consultations. However, he did not rule out that, following the reassessment of all of the aspects, the final verdict could be similar to that pronounced by Roman Hofbauer.

Relations With Iraq To Be Maintained, Developed

AU0701170094 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 4 Jan 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Farewell Visit"]

[Text] Bratislava—Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Prokes yesterday received Ahmad al-Mutlaq, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Iraq to the Slovak Republic resident in Prague, for a farewell visit in Bratislava. During their talks, both sides expressed their interest in maintaining and developing mutual relations, particularly economic relations.

Slovak, Cypriot Leaders Discuss Minorities

LD0701220694 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Our government delegation has returned from an official visit to Israel and Cyprus. Before departing from Nicosia, our special correspondent Igor Barat sent us this report about today's program.

[Begin Barat recording] [passage omitted] While Economy Minister Jan Ducky negotiated with the Cypriot minister of finance, Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik continued his consultations, which started yesterday, with his counterpart, Mikhailidhis. The two politicians talked about their experience in solving problems relating to a multinational society and agreed that recognizing individual rights for all citizens must not lead to interference with the integrity of individual states.

The two ministers of foreign affairs also stressed the need for an effective security system in Europe, which would give guarantees to all states and not just to selected ones. The foreign ministers also confirmed that Cyprus and the Slovak Republic have common interest in joining the European Union.

Ivan Laluha, chairman of the Slovak Republic National Council's Foreign Committee, and other deputies met Tasos Papadhopoulos, chairman of the Cypriot Parliament's Foreign Committee. They also talked mainly about minority questions. The Cypriot politician said that, in this sphere, his country has negative experience and that it has learned from this experience that it is not desirable to recognize too many rights for any minority, and that it is also not permissible for other states to get involved in solving these problems. We received this information from Ivan Laluha on the so-called Green Line, hermetically dividing the Greek from the Turkish part of the island. The Slovak Foreign Committee chairman noted: I hope we will never need to create something similar. [end recording]

Defense Minister Satisfied With Visegrad Talks

LD0701193994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Immediately after the meeting of Visegrad defense ministers ended in Warsaw today, Slovak Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak gave an interview to our colleague Jozef Hybel.

[Begin recording] [Hybel] Minister, how satisfied are you with the outcome of the Visegrad defense ministers' meeting?

[Andrejcak] I am naturally satisfied. We agreed that all four countries would prefer to become NATO member countries immediately. All four countries will however accept the partnership for peace program. I am glad that our president is seeking a way that will enable us to become a member soon, at least in the political aspect. If we cannot realize the first aspect, let us hope that this idea of his will speed up our acceptance as a full member.

In addition, we agreed that we will continue all areas the original Visegrad countries set before themselves toward cooperation, and I proposed that, after clarification by a NATO representatives with regard to what the partnership for peace in fact is, we would meet to consider how to coordinate our steps.

[Hybel] Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia hold very close views on their future membership of NATO. The Czech Republic's view is however somewhat different. How do you view the endeavors of the Czech Republic?

[Andrejcak] Through its first deputy defense minister, the Czech Republic presented two variants. I believe that we cannot reproach them for this, as such an opportunity also exists for us. The other thing is that prevalent among the countries at this moment is the idea that they will be able to gain entry more speedily into NATO as individuals. I believe that life itself will show that cooperation is in the end a faster course than individual steps. They have not, however, rejected such cooperation.

[Hybel] Do you think that Slovakia is today prepared for entry into NATO?

[Andrejcak] I have not encountered a view that would assess our armed forces as being less capable than any other. However, this matter has another aspect. It is the member countries who make the choice. It therefore depends on their view and not on mine or that of our politicians.

[Hybel] How do you see the fact that Western politicians frequently forget to name Slovakia when there is talk about letting Central European countries into NATO?

[Andrejcak] Naturally, as with every Slovak, I bear this with difficulty. Nonetheless, let us remember that we have not yet succeeded in presenting ourselves to the world, so not everyone feels compelled to talk continuously about Slovakia. We must promote ourselves to ensure that everyone knows about us and that their knowledge of us is so strong that they do not forget us. [end recording]

Hungarian Minority Holds General Assembly

LD0801153294 Bratislava Slovak Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Excerpts] The general assembly of the elected representatives of the Hungarian minority of Southern Slovakia began at 1300 hours today in Komarno. Szilvia Enkakarov reports from the scene.

[Enkakarov] The organizers somewhat miscalculated the number of participants of the general assembly when they predicted 1,400-1,500 people. A few minutes before 1300 hours, there were massive queues in front of the sports hall's entrance, despite the fact that the hall was already hopelessly full. Before the beginning of the general assembly, some 3,000 people entered the sports hall.

Among the guests are representatives of the government office headed by Ludovit Fliegel. Teodor Kriska and Roman Filister from the presidential office are also attending. [passage omitted]

In his opening speech, Istvan Pasztor, mayor of Komarno and chairman of the Association of Towns and Villages of Zitny Ostrov, greeted those present and read out the letter of Ms. Catherine Lalumiere addressed to the Komarno general assembly. It emerged from the letter that observers of the Council of Europe could not take part in the event because, in a few days' time, on 17-18 January, a four-member expert committee will visit Slovakia to learn about the Slovak Republic's plans for administrative and regional division.

The agenda read out by Istvan Pasztor was adopted by the participants. According to the agenda, the general assembly's four main topics are the legal situation of local governments, Slovakia's administrative and regional reorganization, the constitutional status of the Hungarians of Slovakia, and the report on the initiative for the association of the elected representatives of Southern Slovakia. The mayors and representatives present will be given the opportunity to express their views in the debate. They can analyze the topics they are most interested in, in three-minute-long speeches, said the mayor of Komarno. The mayor concluded his speech with the following thought, which received great applause: "Our aim is not to pull the country apart but together to try to solve our country's problems within the country's borders."

Speeches are being delivered at the moment. At the end of the general assembly, a news conference will be held in the Komarno town community center at 1700. My next report from the scene will be at 1730.

Ethnic Hungarians Kept From Attending Meeting

LD0801150294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Excerpts] In Slovakia, police prevented representatives from Districts Lucenec and Filakovo from getting to the meeting of Zitny Ostrov localities. [passage omitted] First policemen asked for documents certifying the payment of road tax, which is levied on weekends. After these documents were presented, they took away vehicle registration documents without giving any reason. They only told the protesting passengers that whatever they did, the buses could not leave the territory of the Slovak district.

Ethnic Hungarians Seek New Relationship

LD0801170694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] The meeting of mayors and deputies of legislative bodies from southern Slovakia opened in Komarno this afternoon. Jarmila Tosecka, our editor, will now highlight for us the atmosphere of the meeting.

[Tosecka] Good afternoon, the meeting in Komarno is at present reaching its climax. In the course of the past four hours, a number of mayors of towns and villages took their turns to make lengthier speeches from the platform, in which they appraised the current local government's rights, draft of the territorial-administration reorganization, and the constitutional position of Hungarians in Slovakia.

That part of the meeting's agenda passed calmly, despite critical reservations and fundamental proposals on the resolution of the problems. The ensuing debate, however, was marked by passionate words and statements.

At the close, the organizers acquainted the participants in the meeting with the content of the open letter they are sending to the Slovak president. Apart from other things, they appeal to the whole Slovak public with these words: Let us seek a path to ourselves but only on the principle of equality.

I shall now quote briefly from the final statement adopted by the participants in the national meeting of members of local governments, mayors, and deputies of legislative bodies from southern Slovakia in Komarno. The draft is currently being presented by one of the organizers:

The Central European space is characterized by, among other things, unsettled ethnical relations and accumulated tension that could lead to tragic conflicts. We shall do everthing possible in the interest of ensuring that such a conflict does not break out in the Carpathian base. It is, however, necessary to point out that ethnical problems must be tackled also here. For Slovakia, which gained independence in 1993, this means that relations between Slovaks and Hungarians must be built on new foundations. In the interest of this, it is necessary to create a new system of relations between Slovaks and Hungarians, and it is necessary to pass new laws. The steps taken by the government to date have contributed to the worsening of mutual relations. The new system of relations is to strengthen the basic pillars of democracy.

MOS Wants Minority Issue Institutionalized

AU0701153494 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 5 Jan 94 p 2

[Report by "NO": "Minorities as an Appendix of the State? Hungarian Civic Party on Slovak-Hungarian Relations"]

[Text] Bratislava—The editorial office received a statement from the Hungarian Civic Party [MOS] yesterday that states, among other things, that what is absolutely lacking is an institutionalization of the solution to the problems of the national minorities. Quite the contrary, the solution to these problems is being transferred to extraparliamentary forums. Individual components of power, political parties, and cultural and social organizations mutually interfere in their powers.

MOS considers it alarming that leading government and parliament representatives have endorsed the demands of the assembly of Slovaks from southern Slovakia held at Surany on 2 January, which contain elements that are incompatible with the principles of parliamentary democracy and whose spirit and tone are reminiscent of the pre-1989 period. MOS does not identify with the appeal issued by the Association of Towns and Villages of Zitny Island because some parts of the appeal are not in conformity with the party's program.

The statement observes that present power holders regard ethnic minorities merely as an appendix of the state. All citizens, including members of the minorities, are a source of the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, and, therefore, they rightly demand legal and institutional guarantees of the preservation of their distinctive identity.

New TV News Chief Stresses Need for Change

AU0801191694 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 5 Jan 94 p 3

[Interview with Ladislav Pilz, chief producer of the Slovak Television Production Center for News and Current Affairs, by Eva Zelenayova; place and date not given: "No One Trusts the Television Screen; Ladislav Pilz: Professionalism Has Disappeared From Television"]

[Text] Slovak Television has had a new chief producer of the Production Center for News and Current Affairs since the beginning of this year. It is Ladislav Pilz, whom we asked for an interview.

[Zelenayova] In spite of the many objections to television being raised, the change at the post of the chief of news programs has come rather unexpectedly. How was your appointment to this post explained to you?

[Pilz] Very simply. The previous chief, Mrs. Martina Kyselova, gave notice with effect from 31 December 1993. The Slovak Television management was looking for an adequate replacement. The fact that they chose me may have to do with the fact that I have been working in television for 21 years. First, for about two years, as a speaker, later as director of television news, and the past two years as deputy chief producer in the editorial office for sports. I know television inside out, and that was probably the main reason.

[Zelenayova] How do you assess news programs, and what would you like to change?

[Pilz] I assess them very critically. I think, first and foremost, that responsibility, decency, verification of information, the basic attributes of work in any genre—that is, not just when covering news—have disappeared from news programs. Although I do not like the term ethical self-regulation, the fact is that many people are lacking it.

[Zelenayova] Do you think that you will be able to put things right?

[Pilz] I have inherited a very young team of reporters. This team is very inexperienced but, on the other hand, also very adaptable. Slovak Television is short of the generation of middle-aged reporters. Even if they were tied to the former regime in any way, they were professionals who passed their experience on to the younger reporters, something we would need very badly now. Today's young reporters lack feedback and a certain control. Lack of concept is the prevailing feature. If you add to this indecent conduct, irresponsibility, and indifference, this cannot but find its reflection in television programs.

[Zelenayova] The most frequently heard objections concern a lack of balance, particularly regarding the representation of political parties in broadcasts, but also the Slovak Television reporters' one-sided view of domestic political developments. What is your view of this problem?

[Pilz] The shortcomings that I mentioned are, in fact, also the cause of the lack of balance to which you referred. There exist indications that some young reporters allow themselves to be carried away by some vision of a party or a movement, and that detachment or plurality are alien to them. I would like to create such an atmosphere that people will trust us. Today the situation is such that we are not trusted by politicians, fellow journalists, or viewers.... Not even teachers of Slovak trust us because 90 percent of the television staff speaks nonliterary Slovak. What will be the first step? If they want and are willing to raise their professionalism [as published]. But not tendentiously, opportunistically, and mendaciously. That is the only way to achieve that viewers will, perhaps, trust us. And that is work for several years.

National Bank Vice Governor Interviewed

AU0801184094 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 6 Jan 94 p 4

[Interview with Marian Jusko, vice governor of the National Bank of the Slovak Republic, by Oldrich Zabojnik in Bratislava; date not given: "The Slovak Republic Intends To Honor the Payments Treaty"]

[Text] [Zabojnik] What approach will the National Bank of the Slovak Republic [NBS] or, possibly, the Slovak Finance Ministry use? Will it regularly cover the clearing margin, or have you considered some changes?

[Jusko] The NBS intends to honor the payments treaty between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic currently in effect. This treaty clearly specifies that margin calls must be covered within 15 days. Our national bank intends to act accordingly. For the time being, we want to keep the payments treaty in effect and operational as long as possible.

[Zabojnik] The Czech National Bank [CNB] has several times expressed its willingness to abolish the old lot [separate record of payments due from the time before the currency division]. Does the NBS or the Slovak Finance Ministry (if applicable) agree with this?

[Jusko] The NBS is just as willing to abolish the old lot as the CNB is. I believe that it is in the interest of both banks.

[Zabojnik] An extension of the currency exchange-rate margin within the framework of the clearing account has been mentioned as a possible solution. How do you feel about this proposal?

[Jusko] I cannot take a definite stand on this. Nevertheless, it could result in the creation of two price levels that, on a long-term basis, could be unfavorable. In any event, this idea would have to be developed. However, I do not expect that the Czech side would be interested in extending the exchange-rate margin within the framework of the clearing.

[Zabojnik] According to the CNB, a substantial part of the old lot—and therefore the margin excess—is a result of speculation. According to the Czech Finance Ministry, it is not so. What do you think?

[Jusko] I would like to divide this question into two. The first one is whether some speculation payments have taken place on the old lot. I believe I can safely claim that certain signals indicate that such payments have been made. The second part of this question concerns the size of the share of these speculations in the margin excess. I believe that the speculations are responsible for only a small part of this excess because such a speculation has to pass through both lots. Therefore, to a great degree, it is compensated.

[Zabojnik] According to the Czech Finance Ministry, approximately 20 billion korunas in favor of the Czech Republic, the amount by which the debts of Slovak enterprises exceed their claims in the Czech Republic, are still to pass through the clearing process. What are the figures at your disposal?

[Jusko] This probably applies to the old lot—that is, obligations and claims that arose before 8 February. The amount of 20 billion seems to me to be rather high. I was present at the signing of the payments treaty. The opinions differed regarding the surplus of the Slovak obligations—that is, obligations of the Slovak enterprises over the obligations of the Czech entities.

[Zabojnik] The amalgamation of the two lots is technically possible immediately. However, the Finance Ministries of both republics must decide on the compensation in the transfer to the new exchange rate. What are your plans, and have you discussed them with the Czech side?

[Jusko] We have talked unofficially about it with the Czech side. I have talked with the CNB representatives myself. It is not a foregone conclusion that the finance ministries of the two republics must solve this problem. A different approach is possible provided the consequences of the closing of the old lot would be borne by the Czech enterprises. The Slovak enterprises should lose nothing by the cancellation of the old lot.

[Zabojnik] To what degree is this situation reflected in the current financial position of the Slovak Republic?

[Jusko] From the point of view of the deficit manifested at the end of December, the situation is getting rather dramatic. I consider it a very bad approach. Balanced payments or settled clearing payments with a single country cannot be the objective of any country. It is much more important whether its overall payments are balanced, or, more precisely, whether the balance of its current account is in the black. A deficit with respect to one country is balanced out by a surplus with respect to another country. That is how we should perceive the mutual relations between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic. It is important that the payments treaty is followed exactly. I believe that this treaty proved itself. It is—and it should remain—the goal of the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic to keep it working as long as possible in the economic relations between our countries.

[Zabojnik] The total sum of the Slovak clearing deficit comes to 6.5 billion Slovak korunas. That is a substantial amount for the payment ability of a country that is entering this year with such a deficit budget. One may subscribe to your opinion that a certain section of the balance of payments of a country with any other entity does not necessarily have to tell all about the economy of the given state. At the same time, however, you admit that the relations between our two states are special. What does this mean to you?

[Jusko] I dare to say that the interest of the NBS is very serious. We see the advantages of the payments treaty

that we are going to follow to the letter. Regarding the amount of the deficit on 31 December 1993, it is true that it amounts to approximately 6.5 billion korunas. Thus, the margin excess is about 1.5 billion over the margin. Therefore, we will pay the CNB 39 million ECU's. These figures, one could say, are not favorable, but they do not represent a disaster, either. It apparently is a matter conditioned by the historical development of two independent economies, where one of them is more dependent on the other. After all, the Slovak economy is smaller than the Czech one.

[Zabojnik] It seems evident that the difference between our two countries continues to grow. Do you believe that this also applies to the financial relations between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic?

[Jusko] Every central bank should be an independent and apolitical institution. Therefore, I do not dare to judge and do not even want to take a stand on whether the societies of the two countries are drifting apart. The results in the currency sphere are quite comparable. Of course, the currently accessible results are more favorable for the Czech Republic. In some spheres, however, the differences are not major. I have in mind the inflation rate, for instance, which is higher in the Slovak Republic than in the Czech Republic, although, one can say, the values are comparable. Nevertheless, there certainly are areas where our results are substantially worse.

[Zabojnik] Would you then admit that these results indicate certain economic drifting apart, after all?

[Jusko] As the federation was divided into two states, a certain divergence occurred, which apparently is a necessary phenomenon in all spheres of life. Of course, this does not mean that it should continue. Eventually, it has to stop. In the beginning of the operation of the NBS, we cooperated with the CNB much more closely than today. Cooperation continues on a very good level. These relations are preserved not only as regards the financial institutions but also in the enterprise sphere. The enterprises of both states will continue to cooperate on the basis of mutual benefit. We must differentiate between economic laws that lead to a certain divergence and various irrational and, perhaps, politically based approaches permeating the economic relations. If disharmonies of this type were to occur, it would be very bad, and it certainly would not benefit either country.

Boross Welcomes Partnership for Peace Initiative

LD0801202294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Excerpts] *President Clinton's special envoys in Budapest have been making concrete proposals in connection with military cooperation. Jozsef Barat reports.*

[Barat] Hungary's security is very important to the United States, said President Clinton's special envoys this afternoon at their discussion with Prime Minister Peter Boross. [passage omitted]

For the representatives of the U.S. President, the way Hungary reacts to the initiative is of great significance prior to the Brussels NATO summit. This is what Janos Herman, spokesman for foreign affairs, had to say about this after the discussions:

[Begin Herman recording] Prime Minister Peter Boross said that Hungary welcomes this initiative; Hungary is ready to take part in the Partnership for Peace process. At the same time, he also stressed that according to Hungarian opinion this is a step, it is a form of cooperation, it is a question of a process that, when the time is right [megfeleloe idoeben], when all the circumstances are assured, will lead to Hungary's NATO membership. [end recording]

Cooperation Stressed

LD0801170494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] [Announcer] The two special envoys of the U.S. President are currently holding talks with Prime Minister Peter Boross. Prior to that, the U.S. ambassador to the UN [Albright] and the U.S. chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff [Shalikashvili] had talks with Defense Minister Lajos Fur and Head of State Arpad Goncz. Jozsef Barat reports on the latter meeting.

[Barat] The Partnership for Peace program is a serious step towards political integration rather than being just an ersatz [potcselekves], Arpad Gocz said during talks with Ambassador Albright and General John Shalikashvili. The terms of the complex political and military cooperation program are mutually acceptable, the president of the Republic stressed, and he called it important that the U.S. initiative treated the region as a whole. According to Arpad Goncz, it is also shown by the fact that Prague was chosen for the venue of next week's meeting. The president agreed that the Partnership for Peace program was of extensive and not exclusive character, that is it will do no damage, it will not harm sensitive areas in fostering ties with the East.

President Clinton's special envoys assured Arpad Goncz that the security of the United States and that of Central Europe were interrelated. For Washington, the security of all countries in the region is equally important.

Fur on Military Cooperation

LD0801163894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Hungarian-U.S. talks are underway in Budapest on the overseas proposal that NATO should, for the time being, only extend its cooperation with the East European countries instead of full membership. [passage ommitted]

The U.S. President sent two special emissaries to Budapest to learn about the Hungarian stance on Washington's notion. UN Ambassador Albright and General Shalikashvili, U.S. chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, first held talks with Minister of Defense Lajos Fur. After the meeting Lajos Fur spoke of concrete forms of cooperation:

[Begin Fur recording] The countries which declare that they will accept the system of Partnership for Peace can send representatives to NATO headquarters in Brussels. Every country will have to decide for themselves whether they take this upon themselves, and how much of this they will take on. The countries concerned will have to issue a declaration of intent, in which they will have to state how much and at what rate they wish to take upon themselves the building of relations. To continue, representatives can be sent to NATO headquarters in Brussels, the same applies to the NATO command, the chiefs, where one or two military experts can be sent.

Three important fields of concrete military cooperation were mentioned: military planning, military training, and the organization of joint exercises. [end recording]

Albright-Jeszenszky News Conference

LD0801191694 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] The international news conference by Madeleine Albright and Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky ended a few minutes ago. Our correspondent Istvan Szelloe reports:

[Szelloe] It is no longer a question for Hungary whether we will enter NATO, the only question is when, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky stressed. Hungary welcomes the Partnership for Peace cooperation, and we are of the view that it promotes joining the Euro-Atlantic security system. Our foreign minister added that relations between our country and NATO had been good up to date. The fact that Hungary opened its airspace for AWACS planes also proves it.

Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, conveyed a message from President Clinton, according to which Hungary's security is very important for the United States and the Partnership for Peace cooperation can lay the foundation of security. However, as John Shalikashvili pointed out, it does not automatically mean [security]. It is NATO membership that can give full security.

Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky added: There is virtually no difference of view in the most important issues between the Visegrad countries.

Foreign Affairs Official on Tension in Slovakia

LD1001114094 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Interview with Ivan Baba, deputy state secretary for foreign affairs, by unidentified announcer in the studio—live]

[Text] [Announcer] The weekend was quite tense in Slovakia. Some of the Slovak press in Pozsony [Bratislava] wrote that the Hungarians are expected to declare autonomy, that they want to secede, and thus, so to speak, created tension. It seems that a very moderate viewpoint came out at the meeting of Hungarian mayors in Rev-Komarom [Komarno]. In your view, to what extent can this have a positive effect on Hungarian-Slovak relations in the coming months?

[Baba] First of all, I wish to stress that the Rev-Komarom meeting was a warning meeting of the Hungarians of Slovakia, the Hungarian political forces of Slovakia. Its aim was to call the attention of the Slovak Government and political circles to the fact that Slovakia has not done what it undertook to do when it was accepted into the Council of Europe.

I believe that this warning was successful, and certain political and press circles did indeed create tension artificially, since the political parties of the Hungarians of Slovakia have so far phrased their views and ideas, which are fundamentally important for the existence and future of the Hungarians of Slovakia, quite clearly, and I presume they will continue to do so.

For example, education. Everyone speaks of the use of [Hungarian] names, but this is not the only issue; the issues are a proper school system, and the dangers of the reorganization of the administration. This was expressed in Rev-Komarom very moderately, and in a very acceptable tone. I hope that the Slovak Government and the moderate Slovak political circles will receive it that way, too.

[Announcer] Thank you, Deputy State Secretary Ivan Baba, for coming to the studio.

'Parliament' Not To Be Established

LD0701184194 Budapest DUNA Television in Hungarian 1700 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Early this afternoon the Association of Towns and Villages of Zitny Ostrov held a final session before the assembly in Komarno tomorrow, 8 January.

At the meeting practically the last details were discussed. In addition to a discussion of security issues, a decision was made that tomorrow in Komarno the so-called 100-strong parliament, which was to be the highest representative body of Hungarians in Slovakia, will not be established after all. They will not establish it because the Slovak Interior Ministry will not permit the registration of this organization.

The demands formulated in Komarno will nonetheless be submitted to the Slovak legislative through the 14 National Council ethnic Hungarian deputies.

The organizers sent out 5,000 invitations to the assembly, and according to preliminary estimates at least 1,500 participants were expected. Representatives of foreign diplomatic services in Bratislava and the heads of several international bodies were among those invited.

On the other hand, Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe, has canceled her visit.

Torgyan's Smallholders Refused Registration

LD0601133494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Excerpt] What would Torgyan's Smallholders' Party do if put into power? Robert Richard Kiss reports from their news briefing:

[Kiss] A request for the registration of Torgyan's party has been refused, Torgyan himself said at a news briefing. The party was formed in order for the electors to clearly see who they are voting for in the elections. Just like the Independent Smallholders' Party, other parties would also like to get into parliament. There would have been only one Torgyan party but, following the refusal, it is clear that the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP] can launch the fight on its own and it will not establish an alliance with anybody before the first round of the elections, Jozsef Torgyan said.

He then talked about the party's foreign political strategy. The green light must be given to Asian and Pacific capital, because companies from Hong Kong and Taiwan would invest billions of dollars in Hungary. [passage omitted]

U.S. 'Partnership for Peace' Plan Viewed

WS0701153094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Jan 94 p 22

[Article by Maria Wagrowska: "A Long Run: Membership in NATO"]

[Text] It is anyone's guess how long we will have to wait for full membership in NATO and Western security guarantees. The Russian position is the main—but to be sure not the only one—reason why NATO flinches at the thought of admitting Central and East European states to the bloc. Another major reason is the organization's unwillingness or perhaps even inability for serious change. It seems that chances for the admission of Poland and other states from this region to NATO will not be realistic until these two problems are solved. For the time being, we must be happy with the "Partnership for Peace."

After President's Clinton declaration about the lack of agreement among NATO countries on the admission of "new democracies," it is highly unlikely that the situation can change with only a few hours left before the "16" summit. While any decision of the North Atlantic bloc can be approved by consensus, only four states—Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Norway—accept the possibility of NATO's expansion.

Even if the bloc declares that Poland might become a NATO member in the future, this would be a nonbinding declaration. It will contain nothing that would allow Poland and other Central European states to count on NATO's helping hand in the event our security is jeopardized.

However, lack of "written" guarantees on the part of the only military and political organization in Europe should not be demonized. If the West thought that defending Poland was in its interests, it very well might extend us some kind of military support. Otherwise, Poland and other states of the region would have to have to expect the support—rather hypothetically—of the United Nations and CSCE. Several months ago, NATO spurned a Hungarian request for security guarantees—prompted by the Balkan crisis—saying that country could count on aid from the United Nations if its security were threatened.

Bad Russia

According to a widely held belief, the main reason why NATO flinches at the thought of its expansion into Central and East Europe is the Russian position. Using an entire range of diplomatic and political means, Russia managed to force the West into respecting its interests and accepting its drive to influence the area west of its state borders. While the West says it denies Russia the right to veto NATO's expansion, at the same time it explains its reluctance to have new members by citing an unwillingness to create new divisions in Europe.

NATO gave Russia the time it needed to realize its significance. The West has probably committed a new sin with regard to that country by trusting that the Russian political establishment will change its perception of the Russian place in Europe and the world. After all, we all laughed at Andrey Kozyrev's "joke" at the CSCE conference in Stockholm last year, when he warned of expansionist policies if the Yeltsin team lost power in Russia.

In the Background

Such Western policies have created the impression that Central Europe is being pushed to the background. European relations increasingly depend on the triangle connecting Washington, Bonn, and Moscow. Germany, which has been most vocal about the need to grant Poland and other countries admission into NATO, gives priority to relations with Moscow, and the United States proposes its "strategic partnership." This goes very well with Russia's efforts that Central European states be given security guarantees. According to this policy, our countries are left in a gray zone securing a kind of geopolitical balance in Europe. This would mainly apply to Poland as a country in a significant strategic location.

The West also seems to attach great importance to the "order-maintaining role" of Moscow in the CIS. This was proved at the CSCE conference in Rome which sanctioned Russian peacekeeping missions on territory of the former Soviet Union. The Russian Army can guarantee relative stability in that region and will always be able to head off any worst-case scenario.

Should the Russian position continue to influence U.S. and NATO policies so much, we can be waiting for NATO admission for a very long time. No one is sure how long it will take for Russian diplomacy to fully accept the sovereignty of countries which used to be its satellites.

NATO's relations with our country have little to do with the scenario that is currently developing in Moscow. No matter what happens—whether the situation takes a dramatic turn (coup or Zhirinovskiy-style eruption of nationalism) or democracy prevails with Yeltsin agreeing to Poland's membership in NATO—this would have little effect on Western policy concerning us. This raises the following question: Does the Russian reluctance to see Poland in NATO give the West a good excuse, a smokescreen?

Behind the Smokescreen

The fact that the West participates in Moscow's game cannot be explained only by the fear of Russia or a reluctance to raise new barriers in Europe. NATO does not want any new members also because the expansion of a respected and wealthy group of 16 states would change the organization itself. Organizationally and financially, it is not prepared for rebuilding its structure, deploying troops according to new principles, reforming

systems of command, and allowing the East open access to modern military equipment.

Notably, at its Brussels summit, the bloc is not planning to alter the strategy it adopted at the end of 1991, despite numerous promises that it will adapt it to meet conditions in the changing world. The only new element will be a decision about creating the so-called combined operational forces which could engage in UN- or CSCE-sponsored actions (also in cooperation with the East). Also, experts prepared a 900-page report on NATO's participation in peaceful operations which, given the bloc's refusal to get directly involved in the Yugoslav conflict, will only be good for recycling.

In addition, France is increasingly perceived as moving closer to NATO structures. From now on, the French defense minister could participate in its meetings. No French minister has attended a NATO defense meeting since 1966, when France withdrew from the bloc's military structures.

NATO politicians and diplomats emphasize that the bloc's purpose should be to "organize" a security system. NATO could become the cornerstone of a common European system in the future which would consist of cooperation in the framework of NATO, the European Union, the CSCE, and the United Nations. However, this task might not be fulfilled either, if the North Atlantic bloc turns into an elite company, keeping "new democracies" outside.

"Partnership for Peace"

The concept of the "Partnership for Peace," as it is presented by its American authors, can be summed up in four basic points.

1. Becoming a NATO member is a process.

2. The "Partnership" is an initial step toward possible membership; at first, all of the 22 post-communist states and NATO's partners from the North Atlantic Cooperation Council will have equal chances. This, however, does not mean that some country will automatically gain NATO membership.

3. The "Partnership" will not be a substitute for the membership for states which have a chance of becoming NATO members.

4. Besides the above conditions, NATO will not define in the immediate future any specific conditions allowing, if met, candidates to count on membership or any timetable for admission.

According to the "Partnership for Peace," consultations with NATO are possible when some East European state feels that its security, territorial integrity, or independence are threatened. From the West's point of view, the following provisions are supposed to be very important:
1. Defense and budget planning;
2. Democratic (political, civilian) control over the military;
3. Cooperation in peace missions conducted under the auspices of the United Nations and CSCE;
4. Specification by each "partner" of troops which could participate in joint operations;
5. Joint training, exercises, and maneuvers;
6. Search and rescue missions;
7. Establishment of representation bureaus at NATO headquarters in Brussels and the military headquarters (SHAPE) [Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe] in Mons; a teamwork of officers;

The "Partnership" program will also be open for neutral states which, in contrast to Central and East European countries, never belonged to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council.

Politicians Comment on Integration With NATO

WS1001123094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Jan 94 pp 1, 2

[Report by Ewa Kaszuba and Krzysztof Olszewski: "A Unanimous Choir and A Solo Singer"]

[Text] Today's NATO summit, during which all the member states are supposed to issue their opinions on the possibility of admitting the states of Eastern and Central Europe to the organization, galvanized to action the diplomatic ranks of the states that are applying for membership. Formally, membership applications have been submitted only by Albania and Lithuania; the efforts of the Vysegrad Group, which are equally firm, have been confined to diplomacy. Poland's stand on this issue, which is today unequivocal and firm, gradually evolved.

At the beginning of the democratic transformations, when the Warsaw Pact was still in place, Poland's efforts focused mainly on the difficult negotiations of confirming the borders with the unifying Germany. Soon afterward, during his visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, President Lech Walesa proposed establishing an eastern NATO in our part of Europe. Also the defense minister in the Olszewski government made an unequivocal statement on Poland's need to ensure security by joining NATO. The Suchocka government considered this to be its strategic goal; the Waldemar Pawlak cabinet seems to continue this policy.

Last summer, when Boris Yeltsin assured Lech Walesa that

Russia Would Not Stop Poland

from implementing this goal, it seemed that all we had to do was wait for an invitation from the other side. The situation, however, was aggravated by a change in Moscow's stance, especially by recent statements of Russian politicians. Their overtones awakened fears of a new Yalta.

Last week's interviews given by Lech Walesa to the Western press and television prove Poland's determination. In an interview for the Italian daily LA STAMPA, the president cautioned against the menace of a new confrontation between the East and the West in a cold-war style. "The East European states must be admitted to the West European Union and NATO; otherwise, Russia will seek to regain its influences in this region," he said.

In an interview for THE WASHINGTON POST, he criticized the American plan of "Partnership for Peace," saying that it is excellent, but after 50 years of communism it does not fit the present reality. He said that the West needs us, and not we need the West, and he added that it is a great mistake to leave a vacuum after overthrowing the communist system, because it may

Awaken Demons

"We cannot speak about a partnership, because for the time being, there is no partnership to be seen; there is Russia, which is threatening; there is the West, which is scared; finally, in the middle there is us, who are saying: There is nothing to be afraid of; all that needs to be done is only increase physically and technically Eastern Europe's resources," stated the president in an interview for the American television network ITN, the German ARD, and the UPI Agency. In the latter interview the president informed that NATO and the West "are actually governed by Yeltsin."

The definite majority of the Polish political parties, despite earlier subtleties concerning Poland's integration with NATO, see this as a possibility for gaining security guarantees for Poland. This is a result of political developments in Russia as well as a lack of a clear response of the West. Politicians both of the left side and of the right side of the political scene fear the same:

"I can see two dangers: First, the reviving Russian nationalism; second, the lack of understanding in the West for the role of Poland in the system of European security," admits Romuald Szeremietiew, chairman of the Movement for the Republic [RdR].

"We should be worried by the inability to predict what will happen behind our eastern border. It is still unclear

What Is Actually Going On There

Also our Western partners do not have a full understanding for our affairs, as a result of which our situation is similar to being suspended in a vacuum, to some kind of a "gray zone," says Jerzy Szmajdzinski of the Democratic Left Alliance. In the election campaign the left was rather reserved in its opinions concerning integration with NATO. Today Szmajdzinski points to the necessity of changing the nature of this organization and Poland's need to seek security in a future system of European security; he also concedes that in the past four years Polish diplomacy has been expressing Polish state interests very well. He believes, however, that our relations with the East were neglected at that time, which is now bearing fruit.

Piotr Nowina-Konopka of the Democratic Union [UD] is afraid of chaos in the area of the former Soviet Union, which may ricochet and hit us.

"I am also alarmed by the crisis of European identity. The West simply does not have an idea as to how to organize the world after the Berlin wall collapsed." These words of the UD politician are also supported by Janusz Piechocinski of the Polish Peasant Party. He adds one more danger:

Economic Nationalism

"For us the situation in the east will be relatively stable—if Yeltsin remains president. If he were forced to step down, the advocates of an imperial policy would have a greater say. The center of Europe would not be a quiet place also if any authoritarian options were to be employed. Even though our goal is still membership in NATO, it is clear that they do not want us there in the present formula—we are not a very attractive partner," adds Piechocinski.

Romuald Szeremietiew thought that our dowry and a strong argument for developing our relations with NATO and the West would be the fact of building the Vysegrad treaty, showing that the states that are part of it are taking care of their security themselves. The RdR leader says that it is bad that one state after another departs from this way of thinking; he calls this a silly matter. He thinks highly of recent efforts of the president and Minister Andrzej Olechowski.

"I am satisfied with the fact that everyone is unanimous in saying that we must join NATO. I wish that political forces of both the right and the left wing would be able to

Define the Canon of the Interests of the State

of Poland. This should not be affected in any way by changes of governments or any political quarrels," he adds.

Only the Christian-Democratic Union [ZChN] is not in the unanimous choir of political parties; it claims that Poland should be a member of various kinds of European structures, but it must be done in line with the rules of partnership.

"We cannot be treated as a poor relative," says ZChN Deputy Chairman Ryszard Czarnecki. He says that the prospect of Poland's joining NATO is rather remote. "The evaluation of our participation in the organization depends on what roles we would be supposed to fulfill in it."

"The role of a sanitary cordon, or that of a bulwark, is not really what we want. Now, knocking on NATO's

windows, which other parties are doing, is embarrassing and we will not take part in that," says Czarnecki.

Walesa Greets U.S. Envoys; Communique Issued

LD0701173094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1606 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan 1994—Today President Lech Walesa received Madame Ambassador Madeleine Albright, the permanent U.S. representative at the United Nations, and General John Shalikashvili, the chairman of the Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, the Presidential Press Office reported in a communique.

Greeting the representatives of President Bill Clinton, President Walesa inter alia said: "We owe a lot to the United States, we lack the words to express our thanks. It so happens that the United States continues to have responsibility for the world. We are aware of this great responsibility and we wish to talk about this. We will do not wish to hinder these great ideas, but we would like to present our stand.

A new order is being created in Europe. There is an opportunity for a peaceful Europe. There is an opportunity for all the models that the United States advocates to be realized in their entirety on our continent. As a practical man I know that the opportunity that has arisen must be exploited. As a soldier I know that the best tactics are small leaps forward. It is possible to wriggle forward and sometimes appropriate, but observing different fields—and as a corporal myself I trained some people—I know that the tactic of jumping ahead and then crawling forward was always worthwhile. Today I feel that there is such an opportunity for a leap in Europe. Of course, it is possible to crawl forward, but I do not have to prove to soldiers how far slower it is, how far less effective. I invite everyone to take part in a discussion, so that we can present our arguments," states the communique.

Brittan Ends Visit to Poland, Comments

LD0701182494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1558 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan—Sir Leon Brittan, commissioner for external economic relations and trade policy of the European Communities, ended his visit to Poland in the 7th of this month.

Brittan was received at dinner by Premier Waldemar Pawlak. He also held talks with members of the Polish Government, including Deputy Premier Borowski, Information Minister Olechowski, and Privatization Minister Kaczmarek. The main subject of these talks was the future of relations between the European Union and Poland. The Association Treaty between Poland and the EC comes into force on 1 February, and Poland will become a fully fledged partner for the states of the Union.

The commissioner also signed, in the name of the European Union, a financial memorandum relating to assistance in implementing a program of promoting and attracting foreign investment to Poland called INVESTPROM, financed from PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] funds at 10 million ecu [European currency units] over three years.

During a press conference at the end of the visit, Brittan said, among other things, that Poland is continuing a policy of decisive economic reforms. This has in an unavoidable way placed great burdens upon society. In addition to granting advice, the obligation of the Union is to support the process of reforms both by granting substantive assistance and by participating in the privatisation of Polish enterprises; also Polish access to the markets of the Union should be made possible, although this in significant measure depends upon the situation in those markets. The Union also expects further close cooperation with the Polish Government, stressed Brittan.

Zhirinovskiy Reportedly To Visit

LD0901193594 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[Text] [Announcer] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the fascist-oriented Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, is—according to GAZETA WYBORCZA—to visit Poland in a few days' time. He has been invited by one of the activists of the Samoobrona National Front.

[Jacek Hugo-Bader, GAZETA WYBORCZA] The activist is a very rich man who has known Zhirinovskiy personally and who boasts about the fact that a few days before the elections in Russia he had congratulated Zhirinovskiy on his victory in these elections. I think that this man's motivation is to capitalize on Zhirinovskiy's name for publicity purposes in order to enable his grouping, which is new and unknown in Poland, to get into politics.

[Correspondent Monika Sieradzka] The author of the invitation, a rich entrepreneur, is convinced that Zhirinovskiy will win the future presidential elections in Russia. He wants to give him his financial support by, among other things, investing in Russia.

The invitation emphasizes that various things happened in the history of our nations but that this was the fault of politicians. In his opinion, the views of Zhirinovskiy and those of the Samoobrona National Front are convergent and the two parties should cooperate with each other.

[Hugo-Bader] The person who invited Zhirinovskiy said that he wants to arrange a meeting between Zhirinovskiy and any politician, so that they can talk to each other.

[Announcer] It is still not known whether Polish politicians will want to meet Zhirinovskiy. According to Lech

Falandysz from the president's Chancellery, it is better to talk to Zhirinovskiy than to isolate him. It is better to let him into Poland than to refuse him entry into the country as the Germans, the French, and the Australians have done.

Draft Law Gives Walesa 'Full Control' Over Army

WS0701173694 Warsaw GAZETA POLSKA in Polish 6 Jan 94 p 3

[Article by Piotr Jakucki: "The Whole Army in the President's Hands"]

[Text] According to a new constitutional law proposed by the Belvedere, President Lech Walesa would exercise full control over the Polish Army.

The draft, which consists of three typewritten pages, basically includes a passage saying that the "president exercises general command in the spheres of internal and external security of the state" (Article 34). It provides for the establishment of a new National Security Council, RBN, whose composition and principle activities would be determined by the president (Article 37a, Item 5). The RBN would be "an institution in charge of the state's internal and external security, making decisions on all matters that the Constitution or other law did not delegate to the president's competence or that of other state institutions, or local governments."

According to the proposed law, the RBN would decide about:

"1. General principles of internal and external security of the state, including those concerning the defense of the Polish Republic.

"2. Basic organizational principles of the Armed Forces and their size, as well as those of civil defense and paramilitary units and other elements of the state's defense system.

"3. Measures intended to heighten combat readiness; it could also come up with proposals to introduce a state of emergency or martial law, and order a mobilization or declare war."

The RBN would also be responsible for controlling and supervising the implementation of objectives in the sphere of the general duty of protection.

According to the Belvedere's proposals, the RBN's decisions would be "binding for institutions and organizational units to which they were dispatched."

Work on New Constitution Examined

AU0701200494 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Jan 94 p 4

[Report by Robert Krasowski: "New Constitution This Year?"]

[Text] The deputies' clubs, president, and government have until 9 May to submit their constitution drafts. Not a single draft has reached the Sejm yet. However, two proposals concerning the method of work of the new constitution have been drafted, one by the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and one by the Union of Labor.

The Union of Labor suggests referendums in which society would vote on specific constitutional issues, whereas the KPN wants the Constitutional Committee to resume the work it carried out under the previous government and consider the constitutional drafts that were submitted then. The KPN argues that in this way, those parties that failed to win parliamentary seats this time around will have a chance of taking part in the work on the new constitution, and will enable it to be adopted sooner.

But the Constitutional Committee, led by Aleksander Kwasniewski, prefers the so-called zero option, in other words making a brand new start on the constitution and declaring all the constitutional drafts submitted under the previous government as null and void. The Sejm is to decide whether the committee will consider the six draft constitutions that have been produced by the Democratic Union, SLD [Democratic Left Alliance], Central Accord, KPN, Senate, and jointly by the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and Union of Labor.

Even if the Sejm does accept the zero option, that does not mean that work on the new basic law will not begin until six months' time. Sejm speaker Jozef Oleksy has urged the Constitutional Committee to produce its own draft constitution in an effort to speed up the adoption of the new basic law, work on which has dragged on for four years already.

In Moczulski's opinion, the SLD's Kwasniewski, who harbors presidential ambitions, may cause the new constitution to be adopted in the middle of 1994 so that he can call a premature presidential election in the autumn. Such a scenario is possible because if the SLD and PSL were to produce their own draft, their parliamentary majority would bring about the acceptance of this draft and the defeat of all the others. But there are two major obstacles to this—the increasing political differences between the PSL and SLD, and the stance of President Walesa.

Before the elections, the PSL and SLD came out strongly in favor of a parliamentary system, leaving the president with the mere role of arbiter. But these days, Kwasniewski is making it clear that the SLD is prepared to expand the president's powers considerably. If the PSL fails to agree to this, the SLD, in its bid for a strong presidency, may count only on Walesa's Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms, and perhaps the KPN.

In turn, if the SLD does accelerate work on the constitution with the intention of bringing about an earlier presidential election, Walesa will object most strongly. The president said recently that he will not allow an earlier presidential election, and made it clear that if the ruling coalition tries to make him resign over the constitution, he will call an earlier parliamentary election.

Since becoming chairman of the Constitutional Committee, Kwasniewski has said that he has no intention of curtailing Walesa's presidential term, of which there is still two years left.

Trade Deficit Grows in November

LD0601150794 Warsaw PAP in English 1423 GMT 6 Jan 94

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 6—The Polish trade deficit increased to 2,036 m [million] dollars after 11 months of 1993, according to a high ranking official of the National Bank of Poland (NBP). After 10 months the deficit amounted to only 1,949 m dollars. The same official told reporters here Thursday [6 January] that foreign exchange reserves of the bank at the end of November amounted to 3,840 m dollars.

Spokesman Praises U.S. Stance on East Europe

AU0701210394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Yesterday, in Milwaukee, U.S. Vice President Al Gore made a statement in connection with the U.S. President's upcoming tour of certain European states and the NATO summit meeting to take place in Brussels.

We asked the spokesman of Romania's Presidency, Mr. Traian Chebeleu, to comment on that statement. Chebeleu said, "we learned with interest and satisfaction about the statement made by Mr. Al Gore, vice president of the United States of America. We consider that statement to be a clear expression of the U.S. stance, having the value of a pledge, in the sense of which, Romania's security, as well as the security of all other countries in this part of Europe, is not indifferent to the United States. We consider that statement as a major support for the efforts we are making to strengthen the stability and security of our country in the context of the convulsions taking place in our vicinity and, on a broader plane, to strengthen Romania's democratic society."

The statement made by the presidential spokesman to our radio also points out that the position expressed by the U.S. vice president responds to our preoccupations and was made in the spirit of the recent message addressed by Romania's president to the President of the United States and the other heads of states that are members of NATO.

Party Leaders on NATO, 'Euro-Carpathian Region'

AU0701155594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] During a news conference held yesterday, Mr. Nicolae Manolescu, chairman of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], announced that representatives of the parties that are members of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] will meet with Romania's President Ion Iliescu on Tuesday, 11 January.

During the news conference held yesterday by the leaders of the Democratic Party-National Salvation Front [PD-FSN], Messrs. Petre Roman and Adrian Severin expressed their worry over the possibility that Romania might not be among the countries that would be integrated into NATO first. Romania's integration into that body would both ensure national security and represent our country's acknowledgment as a part of the free world, the PD-FSN representatives said.

The vice chairman of the National Romanian Unity Party [PUNR], Mr. Ion Gavra, announced yesterday that his party had requested that the suggestions included in its anticrisis program should be implemented by the government within a so-called austerity program that is to be presented in parliament at the beginning of February.

A communique released yesterday by the Greater Romania Party [PRM] announces that they learned with deep concern about the decisions taken by the Satu Mare and Maramures County Councils on their adherence to the so-called Euro-Carpathian region, an artificial structure that endangers Romania's security and integrity. The PRM demands that the illegal decisions of the two chairmen of the aforementioned county councils should immediately be annulled.

TU Leaders Demand Coalition Government

AU0701174894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] This morning the representatives of the main trade union confederations held a news conference, which was attended by Bogdan Hossu, chairman of Cartel Alfa, Miron Mitrea, the executive chairman of CNSLR [National Council of Romania's Free Trade Unions]-Fratia, and Marian Miclici, general secretary of the National trade Union Bloc [BNS]. During the news conference, Hossu announced that during yesterday's conference of the executive bodies of the three trade union confederations they agreed upon a program of action in the near future, as they all consider that the sole solution to the current economic and social problems is to go on a general strike. Therefore, on 28 January, a one-hour warning general strike, on 4 February a one-day strike, and, beginning with 16 February, an open-ended general strike will begin, until all demands are met. Hossu added that he personally hopes that the labor conflict will be ended before 15 January. The precondition to this is that the government should also consider the demands forwarded by the trade unions, including the one requesting the establishment of a coalition government, in which case there will be no reasons to go on the planned strikes, which are actually not wanted by anyone, Hossu emphasized.

Leader To Stage Hunger Strike

AU1001132494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Dumitru Iuga, the chairman of the Free Trade Unions of the Radio and Television Companies, is to go on hunger strike from 11 January at 0800 [0600 GMT], according to our national news agency, ROMPRES. In a press statement published today, Iuga points out that he will continue his hunger strike until [national television company head] Paul Everac is removed from that institution and parliament passes, in emergency procedures, the draft bill on the organization and functioning of the national radio and television companies. [passage omitted]

Minister Wants NATO To Help Lift Embargo

LD0901194194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] The aggression against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, an internationally recognized country and UN member, has been going on for as long as 21 months. The aggression was planned and is being carried out by Serbia and Montenegro. Their fascists have so far managed to produce evidence that civil war is now at issue here, a letter sent by Bosnia-Herzegovina Defense Hamdija Hadzihasanovic to the defense ministers of NATO member-countries said.

All that the international community is doing is delivering humanitarian aid, which helps us survive—until we are killed by the aggressor's shells and snipers, though. The belief that the war can be contained within the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina is wrong.

We shall never give up. We are numerous enough and we are determinted to fight to the end. Death is not painful. Humiliation is painful. To us the word life implies freedom and justice, the Bosnia-Herzegovina defense minister writes in his letter.

Milosevic can only be stopped by force. Europe and the world have this kind of force, Hadzihasanovic writes in his letter to the the Defense Ministers 16 NATO member-countries, demanding their help in lifting the embargo on importing arms to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Karadzic Ready To Make Concessions to Muslims

LD0701233394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2254 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Sarajevo, January 7 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic on Friday evening expressed readiness to make territorial concessions to the Bosnian Moslems in some areas, which are of less important for the Serb people, in order to arrive at a peace agreement.

Bosnian Serbs have measured how much they can yield at the next round of peace talks on the future of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina scheduled for January 18 in Geneva, and that they "do not want a compromise when the statehood of the Serb republic is in question or its unification with other Serb lands," Karadzic said in a statement to Radio Studio S of the Serb republic.

Although Bosnian Serbs and Croats had secured Bosnian Moslems the required third of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the latest round of talks in Geneva and Brussels last month, Moslems again rejected the peace accord on Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union of three ethnic republics, saying they were not satisfied with the "quality" of the land.

Regarding the forthcoming Geneva talks, Karadzic said that he hoped they would be successful and also indicated that "enemies of Serbs are not devoted to peace and are not serious in the talks."

"The Austro-German bloc wants the war to continue and are constantly encouraging the Moslems to demand a unitary Bosnia, while the rest of Europe is against this," Karadzic said.

Commenting some statements to the effect that the United Nations protection force (?would withdraw) from Bosnia, Karadzic assessed this as a kind of pressure on the Moslem side. The international community actually wants to warn Moslems that the withdrawal of the peace-keepers would leave them all alone to face the Christian majority, which they could not bear, he said.

Speaking about the NATO summit scheduled for January 10 and 11 in Brussels, Karadzic said that he expected new threats and pressures on the Serb side, although experience acquired so far indicates that methods of pressure, only on Serbs, can achieve nothing.

"The Atlantic treaty has been left without its business and its rival—the Warsaw Pact, and it is now trying to justify the funds of its tax-payers and its existence," Karadzic said.

"Such behaviour is very dangerous for us, since they see us as a great threat to European security. NATO must justify the large costs of the military-industrial complex which is behind it," Karadzic said.

Notes Military, Political Successes

LD0801145594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Jan (TANJUG)—The results achieved over the past two years since the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was set up are fascinating, even though the entire Serbian people are suffering, president Radovan Karadzic said today in a program marking 9 January, Srpska Republic Day. The program was jointly broadcast by Serbian Republic Radio Studio S and Belgrade Radio's second channel. After all this is the war in which the Serbian people has experienced the least starvation and hardship and has suffered the smallest number of losses and defeats compared to all its past wars, Karadzic said.

In the first two years of all their past wars the Serbs used to lose most of their population, territory, and statehood, whereas in this war the opposite has taken place. The greatest part of the Serbian people and territory is protected while the Serbian army is superior, Karadzic said.

Commenting on the international position of the Srpska republic, Karadzic said he believed the military successes and political standing of the Srpska republic have resulted in the world's realization that peace can only be achieved by respecting a minimum of Serbian interests.

In the beginning we were regarded as rebels, then as secessionists, and now it is absolutely clear—even the UN and Red Cross address us as Serbian authorities in Bosnia, Karadzic added. The Muslim leadership's attempt to nominate some other representatives of the Serbian people, Pejanovic, Kecmanovic, Tatjana Ljuic-Mijatovic, Miro Lazovic, has also been foiled because no one wants to talk to them. The entire world knows they cannot represent the Serbian people. They are only parts of the Muslim delegation. This is full recognition of the fact that we are in charge of our destiny, Karadzic said in conclusion on 9 January, Statehood Day of the Srpska republic.

Addresses Assembly on 'Anniversary'

LD0901191194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 9 Jan (TANJUG)—At a ceremonial session of the Srpska republic assembly in Pale today, marking the Srpska republic's statehood day, the Srpska republic president Radovan Karadzic gave an introductory speech on the two-year long liberation war and the just struggle of the Serb people for peace and national interests.

In his address to the assembly deputies, representatives of the state authorities, and guests, Karadzic first pointed at the historical dimension of the centuries-long struggle by the Serb people to resist suffering and slavery, as well as the efforts to overcome all cracks and divisions in Serb national unity.

Emphasizing that the Serbs have spent this century under constant supervision, whose objective was to prevent any integration among the Serbs, Karadzic added that "the claims made by Catholic and Islamic international circles that the war in the former Yugoslavia is not a religious war are untrue. The wars in 1914 and 1941 were religious, and the war in 1991 was and is a religious war aimed at exterminating the Orthodox world."

"A large number of Muslims were nationally unaware, and there were even unaware Muslims who in ethnic terms declared themselves as Serbs, although they also took part in the genocide of Serbs because they were driven solely by religious motives," Karadzic said.

As far as political violence against the Serbian people is concerned, the president of the Srpska republic noted that the most pressing aim of Croatia's "democracy" was to exclude the Serbs from its constitution in the process of secession, while the first task of the Muslim leadership of ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina was to cancel the constitutional rights of the Serbian people. This political violence turned into the jihad warriors' battle cries, Karadzic said. He added that all the masks of fake Yugoslav values, fake communism, fake Europeanism, and of everything the Muslims had faked and worn as a mask since the departure of Turks from these lands had been dropped at the moment.

It is precisely Turkey's attempt to return to the Serbian lands as an empire that encouraged the local Muslims to attempt to oppress the Serbians again. This time, however, there were new Serbians, unknown to the Islamic east and Catholic west. This time their attempt at dividing and stifling the Serbians by Serbians was foiled. Apart from a few shameful exceptions, traitors and degenerates who could not be cured of their servile obedience and subservience, the Serbians as a whole united and reconciled as never before. They stood up and defended themselves, Karadzic said, stressing that their return to tradition and religion swept away the decades of rusty lies and delusions.

"Our political reply to their violence was, first, the separation of our deputies to the Assembly of ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina, followed by our proclamation of the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and later of the Serb Republic. This took place exactly two years ago on Scepan Day 1992. We replied by to their political violence with political moves and measures. We reacted to their dismantling of a state by building our state," Karadzic said.

President Karadzic then recalled, in his reminiscence of past events, that in the first 45 days of the war the people led by the Serb Democratic Party—as the main political power of the Serb people outside Serbia—stood up against the enemy. The armed Serb people became the Serb army in the best sense of the word, in the spirit of the best heroic Serb military tradition. A number of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] officers recognized in themselves the oath of their forefathers and volunteered to lead the units of the newly formed Srpska republic army.

"Despite all the lies and slander of international propaganda, the Srpska army has preserved its spirit of chivalry and its military honor, as befits it. All lies about the crimes committed by this army, having been used for the purpose of exerting pressure on Serbia and the Serbs, have already been forgotten, even by those who had launched them. Brilliant victories of the people's army, its military conduct, bravery, and heroism, have secured the existence of the Srpska republic and the Serb people and have made even the enemy and hostile international circles acknowledge and even admire Serb soldiers."

Deputies of this assembly, regardless of their party allegiance, with all their political struggle and other work, promptly joined the action of forming the army and even directly took part in the armed struggle, in which two of them—Goran Zekic and Milovan Bjelosevic—lost their lives. Milutin Najdanovic, our prominent federal deputy, was killed in a beastly manner in Sarajevo, Karadzic said.

Exceptional heroism has been demonstrated by the doctors and medical staff who in time organized the war hospitals that have saved the lives of a large number of our fighters, the president of the Srpska republic said.

Many of our heroes will not be mentioned in this limited speech, but they will be held in the Serbian people's memory, Karadzic pointed out.

Our generation's self-confidence and its trust in historic endeavor would not have been possible without the sense of unity in our people east and west of the Srpska republic, Karadzic stressed. The republic of Serb Krajina, which conceived the idea and national ideology of the Serb Democratic Party, is always in our mind as an example of courage as well as an obligation.

We must never forget, although we rather unjustifiably seldom mention it, the help of the people and leadership of Montenegro and the support of most political parties there.

Without Serbia's transformation, its rise from the ashes and the completion of its integrity and the resolve of the people and leadership of Serbia, we would not have an indispensable support and have no hope in success, Karadzic stressed.

Serbia is our beginning and our goal, our inspiration and hope, our cradle. All the calculations of our enemies have collapsed because Serbia—its people, leadership and political parties—have not been acting as they were expected to act. They did not let us down.

Our aim is to unite with Serbia. We are not going to conceal this. This is our right, which is identical to the right of a bird to fly or of a flower to boast of its smell and colors.

We have this right. For centuries we deserved a Serbia, and now we have finally secured it. Serbia deserves us too. Long live the Serbian people and all its friends. Long live all the Serbian lands that are called—in a word—Serbia, President Karadzic said in the conclusion to his address to the deputies of the people's assembly of the Srpska republic and the numerous guests at the ceremonial session marking its second anniversary.

Banja Luka Serbs Issue Anti-Karadzic Statement

AU0701204094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] We have to broker a truce with our neighbors and embark on a revival of the economy and the restoration of our cities. We also demand the proclamation of the autonomy of the Banja Luka region and the setting of democratic elections for the assembly and government of the Krajina. This is stated in the statement released by the Banja Luka Regional Council of the Serbian People's Front just before the New Year holidays.

We were (?pushed) into battle in order to ensure that all Serbs live in one state, but 100,000 of us were killed in the process. In addition to this, we are threatened by an international slaughter. Our Krajina can live and prosper without Pale. That is why we demand that normal people be allowed to conduct political life. They are lying when they say that the corridor means life for our children, because our children have a greater need for living fathers. Corridors will abound in peacetime, and they will be as wide as our hearts. However, when we say all this, we are openly arrested and persecuted by Karadzic's henchmen. This is stated in the statement issued by the Banja Luka Regional Council of the Serbian People's Front.

Prime Minister Silajdzic Interviewed

LD0701220594 Berlin N-TV in German 2015 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by correspondent Beate Mueller-Blattau; place and date not given; from the "Villa Bonn" newscast—recorded; Silajdzic and Mueller-Blattau speak in English with superimposed German translation; passages in italics processed from English]

[Text] [Mueller-Blattau] Welcome, Mr. Silajdzic.

[Silajdzic] Hello.

[Mueller-Blattau] Are such peace talks at all meaningful if some of the warring parties involved, that is the Serbs, are not participating?

[Silajdzic] Of course, there are questions that could be solved only among three parties, but there are also questions that can be discussed bilaterally.

[Mueller-Blattau] Which would you discuss bilaterally tomorrow; what are the most important points?

[Silajdzic] Well, unfortunately we have many points. Allow me to begin with the humanitarian convoys. Then there is a field hospital that we have been wanting to bring to Mostar for three months. But the Croat extremists do not want to let the hospital in. Then, there are the territorial issues and the status of Mostar. We have all agreed, of course, that the town is to be under EU [European Union] administration. Of course, we have to restrict to what extent the EU will administer the territory, and then there are many other things that we must discuss tomorrow.

[Mueller-Blattau] It seems that talks with the various political parties always only deal with territorial issues. Aren't the people far more important?

[Silajdzic] *Yes, I hope you argue with the Croat side, because we always offer them no lines [boundaries] between us.* It is the lines that lead to problems for the people. But they reject this, and they do not want to live together with us in one state. That is the problem. And when I say they, I mean those who have the guns and the power. I am not that sure whether the people themselves really want to live apart. For that kind of ideology is after all what caused the bloodbath; it started in Belgrade. It is a reality that they just do not want to live with us in one state. And I mean the Croats, who are the ones with the power.

[Mueller-Blattau] Lord Owen has savagely criticized the three parties. He said that all three only talk about peace, but do not really want it. What do you think of that?

[Silajdzic] Yes, I have heard this comment, and it is a very strange thing to say. I must say that it a major surprise for me, because he knows the truth, after all. Only two days ago, he said that Croatian troops and tanks are in Bosnia, and that amounts to intervention by the Croatians on Bosnian territory. Lord Owen said that himself. And he knows perfectly well—we all know it—who started the war there. It was the regime in Belgrade, with its expansionist desires and its intervention and aggression against Bosnia. Thus, there are two foreign armies in Bosnia. And on the other hand, there is a legal Bosnian armed force in Bosnia itself. If Lord Owen and others think that we are a helpless victim, it seems to be the case that we are only accepted when we are helpless victims. But that will not be true, because we will have to fight back.

That is why we are particularly angry at such comments. Those people that are dying in Sarajevo, and there is heavy shelling there, but also in Doboj, Tuzla, and Mostar. Lord Owen does not even regard it as particularly worthy of mention to discuss it. He discusses quite different things. Let me summarize: Bosnia-Herzegovina was attacked by the Belgrade regime and by Serb troops, and then by the Croat extremists. And now they [Bosnia] are unfortunately being attacked by the legal Croatian Army—by the official Croatia, that is. Those are the facts. They all know that, and nobody denies it.

The aggression against Bosnia was facilitated by the arms embargo against Bosnia, against the legitimate Bosnian Government. Now we are producing arms in order to fight, but it looks as though they do not want to allow us to do so. And when we fight back, then they call us the aggressors, in our own country, on our own territory. And it looks as though some will prefer to see a *Greater Croatia and Greater Serbia installed there at the expense of Bosnia. When we fight back, well, then they are frustrated, because we should have surrendered to them one year ago, but that is not going to happen.*

[Mueller-Blattau] Lord Owen even said the Muslims are only striving for a military solution.

[Silajdzic] What he means is that the Muslims, or rather the Bosnians—he always prefers to call us Muslims for certain reasons...

[Mueller-Blattau] For what reason?

[Silajdzic] The reason is to remind us what Islam means in historical terms in Europe, we have our name, we are Bosnians. But all this greatly surprises me. Are we allegedly supposed to want a military solution? Are the victims without arms really supposed to want a military solution? Isn't that a bit too illogical? One should consider what lies behind those words. It is as follows. We should have surrendered long ago. We should have made it easy for the Serbs to set up a Greater Serbia. That, at any rate, is what some governments in Europe believe, and unfortunately one of the mediators also thinks, from time to time, that we should have surrendered, that Greater Serbia and Greater Croatia should be created, all at Bosnia's expense and then we could all live together happily ever after in large tribes.

The reality, however, is that so far 200,000 people have been killed, and that is forgotten by Lord Owen and his friends in Europe. But we cannot forget and we will fight back. We must be permitted to produce weapons, because thanks to people like Lord Owen and others, there is an illegal and immoral arms embargo against Bosnia.

[Mueller-Blattau] You criticize Lord Owen very strongly. Do you believe he should give up his role as mediator?

[Silajdzic] Yes, after what he has said I think he should retire.

[Mueller-Blattau] Why?

[Silajdzic] Exactly because by what he said he showed that he does not want a Bosnia to exist, it is a Greater Serbia that must be installed.

[Mueller-Blattau] What do you expect from the United Nations?

[Silajdzic] That it respect its own decisions.

[Mueller-Blattau] Meaning?

[Silajdzic] There are a great number of resolutions by the UN Security Council that are nothing but pieces of paper. The United Nations is just like a piece of paper. If that is what it wants to be, OK. But if it wants to be a world organization that does something and does not just cover pieces of paper with writing, then it is a different matter. More than 100 states in the United Nations General Assembly voted in favor of Bosnia. No attention was paid to that. If the United Nations is only there to help a few big rich countries when they need it, alright. But I think that should be changed.

[Mueller-Blattau] Today I talked with a representative from the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees]. She says that all three warring parties are blocking the UN aid convoys.

[Silajdzic] For us in Bosnia the most painful things are not shells, the most painful things are lies. They come from two sides; one side watches as shells fall on us and the other side targets the shells at us. The point has been reached where the credibility and morality, specifically of the European governments and international organizations, are called into question.

If 200,000 people die because of one aggressor, then these dead can only be on one side and those they have killed on the other. There is an attacker and there is a victim. They want to forget that because they do not want to get involved. That is the problem.

[Mueller-Blattau] Are there cases where your soldiers, your troops, have been hindering the UN aid convoys?

[Silajdzic] I do not think so, because who needs it? The Bosnian population is now being encircled, is living in ghettos, mostly surrounded by Serb units. It is quite clear who needs aid and who is hindering that aid. The international organizations have to be precise. If you hear that again from the UNHCR representative, ask for details. Who, for example, is preventing the Danish troops from reaching Srebrenica? Who is preventing Tuzla airport from being reopened? Who is preventing the field hospital from being brought to Mostar? Ask her, and then you will hear the answer.

The United Nations only ever talks about all three warring parties. You know why? Because they do not want to get involved. For them the 200,000 people, among them 14,000 children, are the same as those who killed them. That is Europe, that is a disgrace. But that is European bureaucracy, those are not people. That has to change because these people are bringing us into difficulties, they are bringing the whole of Europe into difficulties. These incompetent European bureaucrats might just drive us into a third world war. I do not know whether you realize that, but it is important for us recognize this. This is about human lives, this is about our future, the future of the region, the future of Europe, and these incompetents must go. This is the time to tell them to go.

[Mueller-Blattau] You say they must go. What is to happen after that?

[Silajdzic] The European Community should finally implement the UN Security Council resolution, immediately.

Srpska Republic Assembly Resumes in Pale

LD1001105594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—The National Assembly of the Srpska republic resumed in Pale just before 1100 today. Deputies are considering drafts of, and proposals for, legislation affecting the economy.

The final item on the agenda is a debate on the peace talks in Geneva and Brussels. Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, will make introductory remarks on this topic.

'Delta' Involvement in Prazina Murder Alleged

AU1001094094 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 94 p 9

[Unattributed report: "'Delta' Killed Juka Prazina"]

[Text] How and why was Mr. Jusuf Prazina, also known as Juka, killed in Liege in Belgium? There are various stories about it, and the Belgian police is carrying out an intensive search for a possible murderer. VJESNIK was informed of a series of details in connection with this crime from reliable intelligence sources. It can be concluded that Juka Prazina was the victim of a well-conceived plan made at the Supreme Command Headquarters of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Prazina's murder resulted from the fact that this Muslim—who distinguished himself as one of the organizers of the defense of Sarajevo during the first days of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina—did not accept Izetbegovic's fundamentalist politics; moreover he and a group of his soldiers joined the Croatian Defense Council. There were many rumors about Juka Prazina even while he was alive. People know that he had his headquarters on the Jahorina Mountain near Sarajevo during the first days of the war. The name of this mountain was taken by Juka's murderers as the name of the action of his assassination.

Cover-up of Crime

The murder was carried out by five members of the "Delta" unit. It is a unit for special purposes at the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina Supreme Command Headquarters. The commander of the unit is Mr. Ismet Bajramovic, known as Celo, who personally led the action against Juka Prazina. The money for the logistical support was provided by Bakir Izetbegovic, the son of Alija Izetbegovic, who has been out of Sarajevo for six months already. He often travels between Brussels, Paris, Frankfurt, Baghdad, Teheran and Ankara using Pakistani and Iraqi passports.

The "Delta" unit consists of 270 persons, the majority of whom come from Sandzak. They were selected by Mr. Ejup Ganic personally. For some time "Delta" was under the direct command of Mr. Sefer Halilovic, the former commander in chief of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Recently it has been noticed that the "Delta" has been performing its actions together with the "Laste" unit. The latter is the sabotage unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Its commander is Mr. Bakir Alispahic, the minister of internal affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It is worth mentioning that some actions of the "Delta" and "Laste" units were performed in cooperation with some sections of the later dissolved 10th Mountain Brigade of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as for example the action in the village of Grbavica, close to Kojic, in which 28 Croats were brutally killed. The commander of this action was the notorious Zulfikar Alispaga, called Zuk. Mustafa Topalovic-Caco, the commander of the 10th Mountain Brigade at that time, also participated in the action.

Several months later Caco was killed in one of the internal clashes among members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo. This was explained to the public as an action organized by the military and civilian authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina against war profiteers, but it was established later on that the persons removed were witnesses of the crimes committed in Grbavica. Nine soldiers of the 10th Mountain Brigade

who, together with Caco, participated in the massacre of innocent Croats were killed, too.

"Logistics Expert" Fled to Khartoum

The information that reached VJESNIK from intelligence services claim that the notorious Hasan Cengic is involved in the murder of Juka Prazina. He is the man whose name was mentioned in connection with the scandal that broke out at Maribor Airport after smuggled weapons had been discovered. There is evidence that he fled from Slovenia via Vienna to Khartoum after large quantities of weapons had been revealed.

In the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina Hasan Cengic performs the function of head of logistics for the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Many foreign analysts think that he, together with Rusmir Muhmudcehaic, is the man who has the biggest political influence on Alija Izetbegovic, who was long ago his prison companion in Zenica.

The "Jahorina" action was already planned in October 1993, and Juka Prazina's travels around Europe were followed by three "Laste" members and three Palestinians, members of the pro-Syrian Al Saqe group. The cooperation between the "Laste" and this Palestinian group dates back to the time when the unsuccessful "Efendija" action, in which Fikret Abdic was to have been murdered, was carried out. VJESNIK wrote about this action in detail, Abdic also spoke about it in an interview given to a Croatian daily.

When the commanders of the "Jahorina" action realized that Juka Prazina would stay in Belgium for a longer period of time, Ismet Bajramovic-Celo gave the sign for the final stage of the plan to start. Bakir Izetbegovic and Hasan Cengic, who arrived in Belgium for this purpose with a Pakistani passport, supplied the five members of the "Delta" unit with weapons, rented cars and false documents. Two "Saab" cars and a "Peugeot" were used in the action. According to information that reached VJESNIK from intelligence sources, some of these details are already known to the Belgian police.

Hit Lists

One of the Al Saqe members who followed Juka Prazina made an appointment with him at a highway car park, after introducing himself as a weapons dealer. The assassins waited for Prazina, who came to the meeting in a "Golf." When he got out of the car, he was shot dead by the assassins. His body was left in a canal close to the highway, and his car was removed to avoid the attention of other drivers and the police. That is why Prazina's body was only discovered by pure coincidence 10 days after the murder.

The following day the assassins left for Khartoum via Brussels, Paris, and Cairo. Bakir Izetbegovic returned to Baghdad, and Hasan Cengic flew to Islamabad with a false Pakistani passport. The three members of the "Laste" unit left for Frankfurt the day before the assassination took place, and the Palestinians from the Al Saqe group are probably still in Belgium.

Reliable sources claim that the "Jahorina" action is yet another of the actions planned by the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina Supreme Command against those Muslims who do not accept Alija Izetbegovic's politics. According to well-informed sources, a large number of respected Muslim intellectuals who live in Croatia and Europe are on the list of persons to be removed.

Factional Muslim Fighting in Cazin Krajina

LD1001140394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Petrovac, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—Fierce clashes in Cazin Krajina continued last night and today between members of the Muslim Army loyal to Izetbegovic and supporters of Fikret Abdic, local Muslim sources have announced.

The same sources add that the forces of the [pro-Abdic] autonomous province of western Bosnia [APZB], using all available means, have taken the village of Trzac [northwest of Cazin] and inflicted great losses on the army loyal to the Sarajevo authorities.

Izetbegovic's forces, using infantry and artillery weapons, are trying to break through the demarcation lines and infiltrate inside the APZB, but are not succeeding. The [pro-Abdic] Western Bosnian news agency, ZBIA, reports that both sides have suffered a large number of dead and injured.

Muslims Report Attacks by Croats, Abdic Serbs

LD0801221194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Excerpts] The chetniks attempted to launch an offensive on the free Brcko area today. A chetnik tank and infantry attack was quickly repelled near Lipovac when 15 chetniks were killed.

Chetnik artillery is constantly shelling the areas in the zone of responsibility [western Bosnia] of the Fifth Corps [of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army]. Their bestial attacks are backed by the so-called forces loyal to Fikret Abdic. [passage omitted]

[UN-] Protected Srebrenica has been targeted by chetnik artillery. Two civilians were killed on the outskirts of town. The ustashas shelled Jablanica today, wounding two civilians. [passage omitted]

Fighting in Vitez, Conditions in Mostar Viewed

AU1001151094 Paris AFP in English 1459 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 10 (AFP)—Bosnian Moslem and Croat forces were locked in "heavy fighting" Monday in central Bosnia even as peace talks between the two sides

took place in Germany, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] and conference officials said.

The Moslem-led Bosnian forces Sunday tried to cut the road linking the Croat-held enclaves of Vitez and Busovaca, but were pushed back by Croat HVO [Croatian Defense Council] forces, according to UNPROFOR spokesman Bill Aikman.

Clashes continued Monday with street fighting reported in the village of Buhine Kuce, on the southeastern outskirts of Vitez, according to HVO officials in Zagreb. The officials, quoted by HINA news agency, said the latest fighting had left at least eight dead and 35 wounded.

Meanwhile, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and his Croatian counterpart Franjo Tudjman held further talks near Bonn Monday morning on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The talks, which began Sunday evening, were being held behind closed doors amid strict security.

In Sarajevo, the airport remained closed to all but UNPROFOR flights Monday after renewed shelling of the tarmac Sunday morning. The shelling, attributed to the Serbs, delayed Izetbegovic's departure for Bonn.

Speaking at the NATO summit in Brussels, US President Bill Clinton warned Monday that the western alliance should be prepared to implement threats of intervention in Bosnia if the situation there did not improve.

Action and not rhetoric was needed to stop the "strangulation" of Sarajevo and other UN-declared "safe areas" in Bosnia, Clinton said on the first day of a two-day North Atlantic Treaty Organisation summit.

"Those who attack Sarajevo must understand that we are serious," he said, pointing the finger at the besieging Serb forces.

France and other countries have been lobbying for NATO air strikes on the Bosnian Serbs, as threatened in August, to stop the shelling of Sarajevo.

Meanwhile, one of the French humanitarian organisations engaged in providing relief aid to Sarajevo, Premiere Urgence, said Monday it would stop sending convoys to the Bosnian capital because besieging Serbs now demanded 50 percent of all aid provided in exchange for allowing trucks through.

Speaking in Sarajevo, the new representative for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Kris Janowski, Monday outlined the plight of 75,000 Moslems trapped in another flashpoint—Mostar, in the south of the country—saying they were forced to live "like rats" in cellars under constant bombardment.

Janowski, who had just returned from the city where Moslems and Croats are engaged in fierce fighting, said the Moslem-held city's eastern enclave had neither electricity nor drinking water.

Inhabitants had to run a gauntlet of snipers to get water from the Neretva River which divides the city and the two warring sides, and it had so far proved impossible to get Croat authorization to bring in a water-purification unit.

Food and medicine relief was getting through, but the Croats were doing their best to prevent the Moslems from getting other goods, including oil, the spokesman also said. Fortunately, the winter had so far proved mild, he added.

Meanwhile, Sarajevo's OSLOBODJENJE newspaper Monday published an article praising the work done here by UN commander General Francis Briquemont, who recently asked to be relieved of his command after criticizing UN action.

The "upright officer," who has spend six months here, could not agree to remain as a neutral observer, the paper said.

Muslim-Croat Clashes Continue

LD1001124294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] [Ivica Saric reporting] The Muslim army continued its attacks on our army in the Lasva valley [central Bosnia] this morning—Ivica Saric reporting from Vitez for Croatian radio.

An artillery and infantry attack was carried out at 0635 [0535 GMT] from the direction of Travnik and Slimena towards the Vitez area against the [Croat] defense forces comprising the Stjepan Tomasevic Brigade and the Travnicka Brigade in the area of (?Smrinka) and Nevic Polje. Forty inmates from Travnik prison, who have been promised an amnesty if they break through the positions of the Croat Defense Council [HVO], are also in the aggressors' formations. After fierce fighting the attack was repelled. The HVO suffered one killed and two wounded, and the indications are that the Muslim army suffered at least five killed and many wounded. In addition, the defenders succeeded in seizing an M-84 machine gun.

An attack of similar strength was also repelled in the area of Kruscica in the region of (?Sofe). At 0750 [0650 GMT] the enemy army continued the attack it suspended last night on the (?Buhina Kuca) region and the Vitez-Busovaca road. Here the aggressor is trying to expand the territory it occupied yesterday, which is 100 metres by 150 metres. In the fierce and [word indistinct] fighting for every house and every square metre the HVO formations are, for the time being, thwarting the intentions of the Muslim army.

As regards the often mentioned Vitez-Busovaca road, it is worth saying that it has been out of action throughout the period of Muslim aggression, so there is no question of the cutting of communications between Vitez and Busovaca.

According to information which has reached the area of Vitez so far, the consequences of yesterday's Muslim offensive are serious—seven killed and 35 wounded, while 35 people are listed as missing, and of these 14 are women, of whom it is known that they have sought refuge in a safe village not far from the focus of yesterday's Muslim offensive.

Casualty Toll Rising

LD0901181794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Excerpts] This is Ivica Saric reporting for Croatian radio from Vitez [passage omitted]

The HVO [Croatian Defense Council] units have the initiative now and they are trying to retake control of the Vitez-Busovaca road. Fierce hand-to-hand combat is still going on. Muslim artillery attacks are continuing. More than 100 shells landed on Vitez by 1600 and over 200 shells of various caliber were fired on the defense lines. Five elderly people and one child were killed and 35 civilians were wounded, including many children. The defenders have also suffered casualties in heavy fighting. [passage omitted]

As I am filing this report, dozens of shells are falling on Vitez and according to military sources, the Muslim army is bringing in fresh units and military equipment from Zenica so that new, even stronger, aggressor attacks are expected during the night or morning on this part of the front in the Lasva river valley.

Thousands of Croats 'Encircled'

LD0901110094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] At 0500, Muslims began a ferocious combined infantry and artillery attack and took the northeast approaches to Vitez and the village of Buhine Kuce, thus cutting off the Vitez-Busovaca road. Eight thousand civilians and 7,500 Croat refugees are encircled in Busovaca. Our correspondent in Vitez reports that fears are increasing of a tragedy on the scale of Krizancevo Selo as the lives of 50-60 civilians from Buhine Kuce are in danger.

We have just received a report from the Vitez operational zone command that troops of the British UN battalion are patrolling the Vitez-Busovaca road, extending their protection to civilians fleeing from Buhine Kuce and transporting them to Vitez. Six people have been taken care of so far, and a British liaison officer said that members of their tank units, located by the road, saw the bodies of two civilians.

By 0800, three people were killed and 15 injured in the ongoing artillery attack on the center of Vitez. The HVO's [Croatian Defense Council] 111th Zepce Brigade reported that Muslims were also launching artillery attacks on Zepce and that many have been wounded there as well.

According to the latest information, Muslims are attacking the Kuber area near Vitez from the direction of Zenica, while the HVO reports that the Muslim breakthrough in the Buhine Kuce area has been halted.

UN Troops Exhume Mass Grave

AU0701211894 Paris AFP in English 2053 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 7 (AFP)—British UN troops have exhumed a mass grave containing the bodies of 27 Croats killed by Bosnian Government troops in a village near the central Bosnian town of Vitez, a UN spokesmans said Friday.

Bosnian Croats forces (HVO) have accused the Moslem-dominated government army of massacring some 50 civilians in an attack on the village of Dubravica on December 22 and have demanded an international inquiry.

British forces in the area began a search for graves and on Thursday exhumed 27 bodies from a trench in the presence of UN military and European Community observers, but said they had no concrete evidence of a massacre.

Lindsey French, a spokeswoman for the British battalion contacted in Split, said the bodies were all dressed in HVO uniforms all carried "wounds received in a battle."

"We have no indication of any form of massacre," she said.

Croat Aggression Reported

LD0801165394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1549 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Moslem Radio Sarajevo reported on Saturday that a huge column of Croatian military vehicles is leaving from the Bosnian Croat-controlled town of Tomislavgrad in western Herzegovina and the town of Prozor towards central Bosnia-Herzegovina, where fierce Moslem-Croat fighting continues.

It is obvious, the radio said, that a big operation is in question and that the general staff of the army of neighbouring Croatia is involved.

Since the beginning of the 21-month-old war in Bosnia-Herzegovina over 50,000 regular troops of Croatia's Army have fought on the side of Bosnian Croats.

Radio Sarajevo also said helicopters of the regular Croatian Army have been flying to and fro throughtout the night between Friday and Saturday on the course

Croatia-western Herzegovina-central Bosnia despite the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina introduced in October 1992 by the United Nations.

A woman and three children were wounded on Friday in Gornji Vakuf in central Bosnia-Herzegovina during Croat fire from mortars, howitzers, tanks and multiple-rocket launchers on Moslem-controlled parts of the town, the radio said.

Serb Shelling of Sarajevo Continuing

LD0801225294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 2203 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Twelve people died and 36 were wounded in today's shelling of Sarajevo by Serb forces.

According to the UN military observers, Serb gunners yesterday fired 350 shells at the Bosnian capital. The Muslim forces responded by firing at least 10 shells, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] spokesman (Bill Oakman) said.

Muslims Attacks Reported

LD0901193094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1848 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Bratunac, Jan 9 (TANJUG)—Moslem troops in Sarajevo are increasingly using civilian facilities to fire at the Serb positions in that city, sources in the Bosnian Serb army said on Sunday.

The Moslems are firing at us over the positions held by U.N. peace-keepers from their strongholds in hospitals, post buildings and other exclusively civilian facilities, the sources add.

The aim is obviously to try to provoke us into neutralizing these Moslem nests so that we could then be blamed for attacking civilian targets, they explained.

The same sources said that the Moslems had used the same tactics before to fire at Serb and U.N. positions in Sarajevo, the capital of war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Serb side has protested with the U.N. Protection Force over this practice, but to no avail.

Moslem provocations in Sarajevo continue on Sunday, with the brunt of the Moslem mortar fire directed at Serb-controlled sections of Ilidza, Nedzarici, Grbavica, Dobrinja 4, Vogosca and Rajlovac, the Bosnian Serb Army said.

Over the past 24 hours, the Moslems were attacking Serb military and civilian targets throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, it added.

Bosnian Serb troops are firmly holding their positions and responding only when absolutely forced to do so, the Bosnian Serb army said.

It added that the Moslem troops in the Gorazde enclave in the east continued their attacks on Serb-controlled Foca and Cajnice.

Sources in the Bosnian Serb Army also said that, despite a U.N. ban on military flights over Bosnia, Moslem helicopters were flying from Orasje to Gradacac and Tuzla in northern Bosnia, and over the areas of Vares, Breza, Visoko, Kiseljak and Vozuce in central Bosnia, where Moslems and Croats have been fighting pitched battles since the spring of 1992.

The Serb side has duly informed the U.N. command about the unauthorized Moslem helicopter flights, the Bosnian Serb military sources said and added that the U.N. command had failed to react to an earlier warning from the Bosnian Serb command that unless such flights stopped, the Bosnian Serb anti-aircraft defence would be forced to itself prevent similar incidents from recurring.

Serbs Prevent Electricity Repairs

AU1001100494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Text] Ten megawatts of electricity are reaching Sarajevo today. This is enough only for basic humanitarian needs. The Serbian side still has not given its approval for beginning repairs on the Reljevo-[name indistinct] long distance transmission line, so it is uncertain when citizens will be supplied with electricity.

The waterworks information service informs that they are still having problems and that the amount of water supplied to the city is still inadequate. The pumping system [words indistinct]. Nevertheless, the supply of water to Sarajevo is improving. Water is being supplied every day or every other day. No water is coming in from the Jahorina springs and there is no possibility of alternately supplying water in a part of the supply zone of (?Hamdina Carina). The Pivara spring is operational and only the water from this spring is chlorinated.

Today the Sarajevo bakery will supply bread to the majority of communes in the city and to all priority consumers. Tomorrow's production is uncertain owing to lack of [words indistinct].

UN Commander Lodges Protest With Government

LD0701191494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1834 GMT 7 Jan 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 7 (TANJUG)—The commander of the U.N. troops in ex-Yugoslavia, General Jean Cot lodged a complaint with the Croatian authorities over the mistreatment of Canadian peacekeepers by the Croatian Army. The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] communique, conveyed to TANJUG Friday [7 January], states that on January 5 seven armed Croatian soldiers stopped, disarmed and arrested four Canadian peacekeepers who were on a routine patrol in the area of Medak, south of the republic of Serb Krajina.

The communique adds that the patrol commander had shown his authorisation to cross the territory which was ignored and the Canadian soldiers were forced at gunpoint to go to the local Croatian Army headquarters. Describing the incident as "shameful" Jean Cot requested of the Croatian authorities to conduct an inquiry and punish those responsible. In an action named "Scorched Earth" last September the Croatian Army has occupied the Medak area, and burnt down 11 Serb villages and brutally murdered 72 civilians. The republic of Serb Krajina was declared by the Serbs in 1991 in parts of the former Republic of Croatia where Serbs are a majority population, in defiance of the forced Croatian secession from the former Yugoslavia and their downgrading of the Serbs from a constituent nation to a national minority.

Although the RSK has been under U.N. protection since March 1992 in that period Croatia has three times attacked the Serb state that it does not recognize, with the aim of forcibly placing it under its authority.

Tudjman Views Peace Talks Prior to Departure

LD0901175494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] Departing for Bonn from Zagreb airport, President Tudjman said:

[Begin Tudjman recording] I would like, Croatia would like, this meeting to reach a solution. I initiated this meeting as early as last Tuesday, when it seemed that the talks between Deputy Prime Minister Granic and [Bosnian Prime Minister] Silajdzic would not a nount to [word indistinct]. However, Mr. Izetbegovic delayed the meeting. You are aware of the situation that led to this delay; you know who shelled the runway in Sarajevo. You also know that Izetbegovic is now airborne and that he is on his way to Bonn.

I wanted this meeting so that I could tell the Bosnian-Muslim side that it is high time to stop their offensive against the Croatian population of central Bosnia; it is time for peace, because if the war should continue this will have catastrophic consequences, not only for the Muslim and the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but for everyone in the region.

Keeping in mind that, not only Germany but international diplomats—France, Germany, and Europe—have all offered their good services to make the meeting possible, they all want to see some kind of result. We will go and see. [end recording]

Asked if this was the right moment for negotiations in the light of a major Muslim offensive on the Croats in central Bosnia, President Tudjman said:

[Begin Tudjman recording] It is obvious that the climate is not positive. Muslim forces have been launching strong attacks in the Lasva River valley over the last few days, from Busovaca to Kiseljak. That is why I am going, in order to save the people, the civilian population, and to prevent the expulsion of 100,000 more Croats. Our intention from the beginning of the clashes in Bosnia was to enable Croats to live in the Bosnian-Muslim republic and the Muslims to live in the Croat republic. That is why I have proposed this meeting and why I am going there where we will do everything we can. I believe that, for once, the Muslim leadership will have to realize that they should accept the hand of reconciliation in order to improve horrible relations caused by the conflict after the Serbian aggression. Like Croatia, the Muslims are still facing the Serbian aggression. Therefore, this is an unreasonable policy that should be put to an end. [end recording]

Albright Comments on Visit, Sanctions

LD0701152294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Excerpts] Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, left Zagreb this morning. [passage omitted]

I visited the mass grave at Ovcara and saw the devastation of nearby Vukovar in order to express U.S. support to the newly founded war crimes tribunal in The Hague, Ambassador Albright said at a news conference in Zagreb prior to her departure for Warsaw. All those who killed innocent children, women and men, must be brought to trial, she went on to say. I talked with President Tudjman about this. Individuals, the perpetrators of the crime, are those who must be brought to trial. The imposition of collecive guilt on a nation should be avoided, she said.

President Tudjman has confirmed that Croatia is willing to offer its full support to the gathering of evidence on committed war crimes. The UN Security Council demands the same from all other countries. The United States will not support the alleviation or the abolition of sanctions against Serbia if the Serbian side hampers the work of the war crimes tribunal, nor will amnesty of war criminals be supported, Ambassador Albright said. [passage omitted]

I am again expressing American firm support for Security Council Resolution No. 871 and for the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia. I wish to thank President Tudjman and the Croatian Government for the support they have lent us in the course of our stay in Croatia, and would also like to thank the UN Protection Forces for for having enabled us to visit Vukovar yesterday, Madeleine Albright said.

Replying to a journalist asking if the imposition of sanctions against Croatia will be examined because of its behavior toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, the American Ambassador said:

[Begin Albright recording, in English fading into superimposed Croatian translation] I discussed this with President Tudjman; we spoke about how important it is for the Croatian Government to use whatever influence it has over the Croatian Defense Council not to obstruct the dispatch of humanitarian aid, which is of vital importance. [end recording]

Valentic Views Economic Policy Objectives

AU0701142094 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Dec 93-2 Jan 94 pp 12, 13

[Interview with Prime Minister Nikica Valentic by Aleksa Crnjakovic; place and date not given: "We Deserve a Favorable Judgment"]

[Text] Nikica Valentic, a 45-year-old originally from Lika, a lawyer by training and a modern manager by vocation, is not really a typical politician, although he has, by chance, been thrown into politics in the most direct way. He does not like public personal promotions, he does not speak in phrases, he is not entirely serious even when he explains the most serious moves of the government, he does not act to please, and he is not a political pawn. He knows what he wants, and he knows how to get it. People trust him; he is an authority and would be considered one even if he were discussing the spiritual life of mosquitoes, for example.

However, apart from the respect that he inspires when you talk to him, you feel as if you were sitting with a childhood friend who had suddenly appeared. We hardly managed to fit into his crowded schedule. Prime Minister Valentic works 16 hours a day every day. Who knows if he will get at least the first 10 minutes of the New Year to spend with his family?!

It Is Hard To Assess Oneself

[Crnjakovic] It has been nine months since you were appointed, which is long enough for an inventory. What could you say that you pride yourself on, without false modesty?

[Valentic] It is really hard to assess oneself, and that is not just a cliche. We are all subjective. However, when you do this kind of work, you have to do it with a certain amount of criticism, which we do. With all the self-criticism, I think that we deserve a favorable judgment for what we have done so far. I am not making excuses for myself when I say that we inherited a difficult situation. There was a war on, and then there were the consequences of the war, which, naturally, "gave birth" to the 30-percent inflation, heading toward 40 percent. We were quite aware that if we reached 50 percent per month, there would be no basis for recovery, and we would lose credibility. People did not believe that we had the strength to do anything radical, and they were nervous, but a week after taking over we started working on the stabilization program. Do you remember the troubles in April? That was when we took over.

[Crnjakovic] Do you mean the energy collapse in Dalmatia?

[Valentic] Yes, I am referring to the darkness in Dalmatia, which is only one of the many consequences of the war, not of the negligence of my predecessors. I am referring to the time when everything had to be done, the most important thing being to abolish the selective loans from the primary currency issue, so that the preparations for the sowing, the harvest, and the crop purchases could be made. For six months we worked on the basis for the stabilization program. The commodity and foreign exchange reserves had to be improved, and the disparity of the prices of electricity, oil, and gas eliminated.... We also created the minimal basis for the program in the banking system. When I list only some of the things offhand, it now seems that they were easy to do. However, they demanded a lot of energy and radical moves. In expert circles it is believed that spring, or the beginning of the year, is the ideal time for stabilization changes, but we had no time to lose, because in three months inflation would have reached 100 percent.

[Crnjakovic] In the last three months of this year you have managed to curb inflation. Was it perhaps done in an artificial way?

[Valentic] There are no surrogates in economics. We brought inflation down to zero, and it may even become negative in the future. There is no artificial inflation, since we have not frozen anything, either salaries or prices. The only question now is whether we will manage to keep public expenditure in check. Croatia has inherited a huge public debt, from old foreign currency savings accounts to bonds, the losses and the rehabilitation of the electricity generating industry, and the health system. We have managed to reorganize all these sectors to a large extent. The electricity industry is no longer suffering great losses, and we have prevented the health system from collapsing. At present, we are keeping all the important sectors under control. We cannot have another collapse of the electricity system, and we are now considering the means for providing energy for next winter, since we have taken care of this one.

[Crnjakovic] What about production, the main precondition for long-term economic stability?

[Valentic] We do not expect a drastic drop in production next year. It has dropped by 40 percent in the past three years, but that is because of the war.

There Is No Magic Wand

[Crnjakovic] Are you expecting a wave of bankruptcies, and, hence, strikes?

[Valentic] There will be some bankruptcies, but no major ones.

[Crnjakovic] However, many people will lose their jobs. Has the government prepared any preventive measures?

[Valentic] Yes, we have secured funds to provide the incentive for creating new jobs, for the reorganization of banks, the shipbuilding industry, and some agricultural estates. My estimate is that there will be more "internal cleanings", reducing capacities, than bankruptcies. However, this is normal in any system. What is important is that the state prepares a social program, which we have done. In any market economy you have certain companies going bankrupt, and new ones opening, so people are on the labor market, and they get new jobs. The structure of the Croatian economy is to a great extent socialist, and changes always bring negative consequences too. However, that is a pattern that one cannot change.

[Crnjakovic] There is an impression that the government gives too little incentive to small entrepreneurs, a process which the sluggish bureaucracy ardently helps. To start a firm, you need to stand in line for hours just to get a stamp.

[Valentic] You are exaggerating. Anyone can open a firm in two days; there are no bureaucratic, customs, or tax barriers there. These are people who basically know nothing about economics, but interfere anyway. I accept criticism, but one should not exaggerate. We must simply realize that we were in a complete collapse, and that several governments will have to succeed one another before we create a stable economic system. There is no magic wand. If you push one lever, another comes up. As far as small entrepreneurs are concerned, I have to tell you that they are in a better position because they can cheat the state more easily than the big corporations, and we will have to put a stop to that. Do you imagine that we do not see that owners ostensibly pay workers 100 German marks [DM], so that they can provide fewer benefits, while they pay them another 200 "under the table"? We are not so naive.

[Crnjakovic] Is there a political consensus for the stabilization program—does your team work together, or is there any banging under the table?

[Valentic] The government is a closely knit team. There was no dissenting voting at any of the many sessions, and we made all the decisions, after they were carefully gone through at coordination and working groups, by consensus. There have been some serious confrontations, because each ministry would like to get as much of the cake as possible, but this government will be remembered for being a team. If this were not so, the program would not have been successful. Anyone can attack the government, but it will not be easily shaken. A political consensus really does exist. Even the opposition, which, by definition, simply has to attack, offers significant support. There have been no significant reproaches to our work, from either expert circles or the trade unions. I am happy with the support that we have.

The Time of People Being Worn Out Quickly

[Crnjakovic] Considering this general affection, we suppose that this government will last quite a long time. How long do you expect it will be in office?

[Valentic] Everything depends on future results. For the time being, we have a positive balance. The average salary used to be DM140, and now it is DM280. Our foreign exchange reserves were DM1.2 billion, and now they are DM1.3 billion. The commodity reserves have been increased by several hundred million German marks. Are these improvisations or facts? Our energy reserves have been increased, the situation with the supply of electricity has been stabilized, the health system has been reorganized, and the retirement fund is doing even better. The government will last as long as it endures according to market principles. At present we have a stable situation, there are no demands for anyone's resignation, and we have full political support. However, we are not deceiving ourselves. I am not saying that we can last very long. In our situation even several months is a long time, and a year is an eternity.

This is the time in which people are being worn out quickly. We had four government sessions in just one week before New Year, there was a parliament session, and another session was held, and on Monday we are starting again at full force. We will even be working on Epiphany [6 January]. This is a crazy pace.

[Crnjakovic] This pace will probably make your life as prime minister shorter?

[Valentic] This is not an excuse, but many know that I have serious arthritic problems. This is not an illness from which you die, but one with which you die. My illness demands a lot of rest, treatment at spas, and a quiet life with no travel or frequent changes of climate. But I will certainly not run away and leave those who trusted me, and gave me the support without which we would not have been able to implement the stabilization program. However, it is a fact that one cannot take this pace very long even when one is completely healthy. We work 16, even 18 hours a day. Let us go back to the question, though: I believe that we will last six more months, which means that we will maintain production at this level, that there will be no inflation, social unrest, or strikes. If we succeed in that, then we will have done a great deal of work.

I Am Not Buying a Company

[Crnjakovic] When you leave, will you remain in politics?

[Valentic] Never. When I am done with this job, I will go back to private business.

[Crnjakovic] What kind of business?

[Valentic] Some combination of law practice and modern financial transactions. I think I am one of the rare people who can organize a group of top experts—lawyers, attorneys, financial specialists—that can work on infrastructure and construction. I have no political ambitions; I am not going to buy any company. It is easier for me to start from scratch than buy old trash. Many will regret buying companies with old technology, and there are hardly any Croatian factories that have modern technology at the European level. This is at the same time a reply to the attacks of some who have bought up factories: Let them buy them! All those who lack competitiveness will fail. As for me, I will start from the beginning. If you are a little late in the beginning, you can make up for it by not having old organization, so when you start you are much faster.

[Crnjakovic] What is your comment to the claims that 10 businessmen have bought Croatia?

[Valentic] These 10 people hold no more than 2 to 3 percent of the social capital. At present there are 100 strong industrialists in Croatia, and tens of thousands of rich ones. Over 50 percent of Croatia has not been privatized at all. However, the property that has been bought is yet to be put into operation. I am not afraid that Croatia could become a "banana republic". There will be hundreds of industrialists, but there are also about 400,000 small stockholders. Even if half of them fail, there will still be 200,000. Unfortunately, some stratification will occur.

[Crnjakovic] You have recently said that it is better to have property belonging to someone than no one. Will we not wake up one morning to discover that our country is in someone else's hands?

[Valentic] When we open up completely, when there is a stock market, owners will change daily, so that the worker will not even know who he is really working for. This is also normal. We cannot have foreign capital and control over everything at the same time. However, we will not sell our property for next to nothing.

It Is Impossible To Return Everything

[Crnjakovic] I must ask you the topical question: Will you be the prime minister who will start the process of denationalization?

[Valentic] I will start it, but I will not finish it. It is a very complex process. I am not one of those who think they can work miracles; I cannot promise such things. We will probably accept the Hungarian model of monetary restitution. How do you return someone's property that was taken away 70 years ago, when you can not even return the property to someone from Vukovar? It is impossible to return everything. There will most certainly be no spectacular moves in that area.

[Crnjakovic] Are there going to be any spectacular moves in the tax system? Everybody is complaining that the taxes are too high, but no one can explain precisely what the essence of the new system is. Could you tell us?

[Valentic] Not in this kind of conversation.

[Crnjakovic] Could you at least say how it will influence the small man?

[Valentic] It will have almost no influence on him, as the rates are low up to certain incomes. Higher incomes are taxed. Even we, who have been working on introducing a new, internationally compatible tax system, are not quite certain in practice, and we expect difficulties in the first three months. Tax reforms are in fact revolutions; countries usually take 10 years to prepare for them. There will be nervousness in the beginning, but in a year we will have a well established system. Its essence is that the total income is added up, and this amount is then uniformly taxed. It is impossible to explain all the taxes. I do not like giving interviews. I do not like to be superficial, and it is impossible to be serious and explain thoroughly. This is why I will give no more interviews.

[Crnjakovic] So I got in at the last moment?

[Valentic] Yes, you did. You reporters take sentences out of context, and then they are transferred, and put into the headlines.

The State Will Pay as Much as It Can

[Crnjakovic] However, at least you know who to blame. What would you politicians do without reporters?!

[Valentic] Now, you do know that I understand your profession, and you also know that I am self-critical and that I accept part of the blame. However, it is simply impossible to resolve a problem in one conversation. You can discuss politics, but economics is a trade.

[Crnjakovic] You have had numerous interviews with trade union representatives, university students, old age pensioners... which one was the most difficult?

[Valentic] With disabled veterans, for emotional and moral reasons. We must do absolutely everything for these people.

[Crnjakovic] Will you?

[Valentic] They will come first; we have assigned DM163 million for our defenders. I am also sorry for old age pensioners, who keep attacking me. We can start printing money, but then their pensions will amount to DM5, as in Serbia, instead of the DM200 that is the average pension now. I was advised not to attend the interview

with the university students because they would whistle me down. However, that is also part of the job. I am one of those people who face problems, not avoid them.

[Crnjakovic] So did they whistle?

[Valentic] No, they greeted me with a round of applause. We had a very open conversation.

[Crnjakovic] One more topical question: What will happen to the old foreign currency savings accounts?

[Valentic] Whether the state should take over the public debt is a question. The state will pay as much as it can; we are servicing part of the interest. The state can not return a couple of billion dollars overnight, but we will do it in several years. We will reduce the public debt.

[Box, p 13]

Like a Drill in the Stone

[Crnjakovic] Will Nikica Valentic be remembered in history as the prime minister whose term of office saw the kuna [currency in use in fascist Croatia 1941-5] reintroduced?

[Valentic] Money is the reflection of the power of the economy. We must not jump the gun. An orderly economic situation greatly depends on the political situation, on the resolutions for these areas. However, I assure you that even if things get worse we will not give up our program, and will not allow the printing of money, so that we get the same situation as in Serbia, where monthly inflation is 400,000 percent—in the Weimar Germany it was 30,000 percent. If the political situation remains as it is now, we will make more radical moves. If there is no more war and the situation gets better, we have the chance of keeping inflation below 3 percent per month. If production does not fall, and there is no social unrest, we could introduce the new Croatian currency by State Day. This is, I repeat, if there is peace.

I believe that I will be prime minister until then. I will consider my part of the job—the first part of the second stage of rehabilitation and restructuring—done. After that it is important that my successor continues where I started. You know, it is important not to keep changing the program all the time. I always compare myself to a drill in the stone: Sooner or later the bore will break, but it is not the same if it breaks at the first or the 20th centimeter, and if drilling the same hole continues, or a new one is opened. This time there will be no new holes; whoever comes after me will continue drilling.

[Box, p 13]

The Mercep Case Should Not Be Politicized

[Crnjakovic] Could you give me your political comment on the following: Dr. Greguric, a former prime minister, questioned the credibility of the press report on Mercep's troops. Certain information from one of the ministries, that is, the office headed by Mr. Manolic, obviously leaked straight to the press. What is this all about?

[Valentic] I am not familiar with the details, since I have not discussed it with anyone, but have only heard the representative's question and the minister's answer, like yourself. However, I can comment on it. It is up to the state attorney's office to start the proceedings within their authority and jurisdiction. In principle, I am against such cases being solved in the papers instead of in court. Information can be published, but in a legal way.

However, regardless of the press and the representative's question, the proceedings are under way, and all the material facts will be established—the information in question is not a fact but circumstantial evidence. The government can not state a political position on this; it is up to the court to establish the truth and justice, and justice is always attainable, even if it is slow. Only the court can establish the facts. I will insist on making the process faster, so that the case is not politicized any further.

Drnovsek Expects Strengthening of Coalition

AU0701163794 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] The leadership of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDS], the ministers of this party in the government, and the deputies in the State Chamber met at a working meeting in Izlake today. According to party president Dr. Janez Drnovsek, they assessed favorably the work of the party and the government coalition so far. They have only agreed that they will try to continue the work of the present coalition, and, in connection with this, resolve the most vital problems. Our reporter, Manca Ocvirk, has interviewed party president Dr. Janez Drnovsek about this:

[Begin recording] [Ocvirk] Can we expect any changes in the government coalition after today's meeting, Mr. Drnovsek?

[Drnovsek] Not on the basis of this meeting. On the contrary, my assessment is that this meeting will, in a way, strengthen the relations within the LDS as well as within the coalition. I do not expect any such changes in the long term.

[Ocvirk] How long will you wait for the reply of the Social Democrats?

[Drnovsek] I would not like to set any deadlines, however, I expect their positive reply regarding the annex to the coalition agreement in the very near future. Namely, this annex is supposed to facilitate a more efficient work of the coalition. Of course, if they will not extend such a consent and signature, a question about the purpose of this party's work in the present coalition will arise, as, by this, the party will express its interest, that is to say, its lack of interest for something like this. However, I expect that they will sign this in the shortest possible time. [end recording]

SKD 'Not Necessarily' To Leave Coalition

AU0701173894 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Excerpts] The Christian Democrats [SKD] are not yet satisfied with the hitherto results of the negotiations about the coordination of opinions regarding the passing of the constitutional law. Therefore, they cannot support the changes to the constitutional law yet. Miroslav Mozetic told this at a regular news conference of the Christian Democrats today. He also said that the party is preparing for all possibilities envisaged by the Law of Local Self-Rule, which regulates the elections into new or old communes. Gojko Brvar reports:

[Begin Brvar recording] [passage omitted] The party holds a well-established opinion regarding the affiliation of the center-oriented political parties, which the party's secretary general, Edvard Stanic, repeated today. The affiliation of the political parties is a necessity on the Slovene political scene. The political field is thus narrowing and becoming more definitive. [passage omitted]

The affiliation on the right is still characterized by the relations between the Peoples' Party and the Christian Democrats. After numerous offers of the Slovene Christian Democrats, a public initiative for wider affiliation came from the Peoples' Party just before the New Year. The Christian Democrats have heard it with interest, but expect that they will nevertheless get an answer to their earlier initiatives. Namely, the Slovene Peoples' Party still has not responded to the last initiative, which was suggested at a personal level by the president, leader of the club of deputies, and secretary general of the Christian Democrats.

When asked how would the Christian Democrats view a possible Social Democrat [SDSS] withdrawal from the government coalition, Edvard Stanic did not give a direct answer. Indirectly, he hinted that a withdrawal of one coalition partner would not necessarily result in the withdrawal of the Christian Democrats. [passage omitted] [end recording].

Federal

Albanian Statement on Border Incident Rejected

LD0701161694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] Beograd, 7 Jan (TANJUG)—Following yet another incident on the Yugoslav-Albanian border, which again seriously violated the territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, when, on 3 January in the area of the Krstace border watchtower an Albanian citizen lost his life while trying illegally to enter the FRY territory, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while regretting the tragic event, emphasizes that the sole responsibility for the incident lies with the Albanian Government, which has constantly been stirring tension at the Yugoslav-Albanian border with the aim of straining bilateral relations, destabilizing the situation in the autonomous province of Kosovo, and Metohija, and wider in the Balkans region in order to realize its greater Albanian aspirations.

With regard to this incident, the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry said today, the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement which, in a well-known manner, shifts responsibility to the Yugoslav side in an attempt to discredit the leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbia before the international community, although admitting at the same time that the incident had taken place on Yugoslav territory.

According to an agreement between the two governments on measures to prevent and resolve incidents on the Yugoslav-Albanian border, a meeting of a local mixed commission for border incidents has been place. It was established at the meeting that the Albanian citizen concerned had on one other occasion been stopped by the Yugoslav border guards while attempting illegally to cross the state border and had been handed over to the Albanian authorities. The statement by the Albanian Foreign Ministry clearly shows that this is yet another attempt to abuse the tragic incident for an unprovoked attack on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Contrary to all international norms and standards, the government of the Republic of Albania has continued to underestimate the importance of its border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and also with its other neighbors with whom, as it is widely known, it has had serious border problems. Owing to the intentional policy of the Albanian Government, the victims have primarily been its own citizens.

The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs wishes to recall that at a recently held session of the main Yugoslav-Albanian commission for border incidents, the Albanian side took over responsibility to carry out more effective border control and prevent all illegal crossings outside the marked border crossings. This was not observed by the Albanian side in the aforementioned case. Therefore it bears responsibility for the consequences. For all these reasons, and also for the fact that Yugoslav bodies securing the border acted in accordance with the law, the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs hereby rejects the unfounded accusations contained in the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs statement.

The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has on a number of occasions expressed a willingness for the normalization and development of relations with the Republic of Albania, and has launched initiatives for meetings and talks between representatives of the governments of the two countries on all issues pertaining to bilateral relations, including its willingness to open new border crossings in order to improve communication between the two countries. This has not been met by the same willingness from the Albanian side. The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia remains devoted to the principles of good-neighborly policy and peace, and will continue to pursue such a policy.

Serbia

Socialists Lead Early Results of Repeat Vote

LD0801194394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1828 GMT 8 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 8 (TANJUG)—The final results of the early parliamentary election in Serbia show that the ruling Socialists have retained the lead, the republican polling board said on Saturday after the vote was repeated at 45 polling stations.

It has been known in advance that the second round of voting will in no way shift the balance of forces established after the first round of voting held on December 19, because only 0.5 percent of the voters were asked to cast their ballots for the second time.

In the 250-seat parliament, the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) headed by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic retained its 123 seats (49.2 percent).

The Democratic Movement of Serbia (Depos), a coalition of five opposition parties headed by Leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement Vuk Draskovic, is second with 45 seats (18 percent), and the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) of Vojislav Seselj third with 39 seats (15.6 percent). They are followed by the Democratic Party (DS) which won 29 seats (11.6 percent) and the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) with seven seats (2.8 percent). The Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians (DZVM), the party of the ethnic Hungarian minority in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina, won five seats. A coalition of the Party for Democratic Activity and the Democratic Party of Albanians won two seats in Leskovac in southern Serbia. The ethnic Albanian minority boycotted the election in the southern Serbian province of Kosovo-Metohija, where they are the majority population. The republican polling board said that 4,300,440 of Serbia's 7,010,389 registered voters had turned at the

polls, and that 1,576,287 of them supported the Socialists and 2,168,467 the opposition.

President of the republican polling board Caslav Ignjatovic said that the new parliament should be constituted within the next 20 days, or by January 28 at the latest. [Word indistinct] Vice-President Goran Percevic said on Saturday that the results of the early parliamentary election in which the socialists had scored a convincing victory would enable the forming of a stable government in the republic of Serbia.

Seaking for the local radio in Jagodina, he said, however, that the SPS had not yet discussed the possible variants of one-party (Socialist) and multi-party governments.

It goes without saying that the Socialists would like to see a government capable of dealing with the issues of vital importance for the citizens of Serbia while the U.N. economic embargo is in force and of coming out with a programme of social and economic reconstruction after the international blockade has been lifted, said Percevic.

Party To Hold Vote of Confidence in Micunovic

AU0901192894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Jan 94

[Text] The Main Committee of the Democratic Party [DS], which is meeting in the Belgrade Trade Union Hall behind closed doors, plans to discuss holding a vote of confidence in Party Chairman Dragoljub Micunovic and will set a date for an extraordinary convention of the party. Vladimir Nikolic has the details:

[Begin Nikolic recording] Apart from the official proposal of the agenda, members of the DS Main Committee were also presented with a proposal by Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the Executive Committee. For the time being, it is certain that the items on the agenda that are undisputable and up for discussion are reports on past elections and the election of DS deputies to the Republican Assembly. One has the impression that no one has anything against holding an extraordinary convention, so one may expect that its date will also be established.

What has attracted the public's attention is certainly the proposal by Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the Executive Committee, to hold a vote of confidence in Party Chairman Dragoljub Micunovic, which has confirmed the stories about disagreements and rifts in the DS' top leadership.

We have just learned at the DS Information Service that the proposal to hold a vote of confidence in Chairman Micunovic has received the necessary majority of votes from the present members of the Main Committee—that is, that the somewhat-amended agenda proposed by Djindjic was adopted.

We would also like to add that when it was decided to hold the session behind closed doors, correspondents were told that they will be informed of the session's outcome by an announcement or possibly at a news conference. [end recording]

Democratic Party Not To Support Coalition

LD1001113794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1112 GMT 10 Jan 94

[Test] Belgrade, Jan 10 (TANJUG) - The opposition Democratic Party (DS) will neither enter a coalition with the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), nor will it back a minority government in the Serbian parliament, the DS main board decided. The DS main board said Sunday evening [9 January] it would take concrete decisions only if a national unity government was being formed. The results achieved at the early parliamentary elections in Serbia were also discussed and the list of deputies to the parliament adopted.

The election campaign was conducted by Zoran Djindjic, the president of the DS Executive Committee and head of all DS lists. The DS main board discussed the confidence to the party's president, Dragoljub Micunovic, but the vote was put off until January 15, due to a lack of quorum. The vote on confidence to the president of the DS was demanded by 52 municipal committees, out of a total of 90.

At early parliamentary elections, the DS increased the number of seats compared to last year's parliamentary elections, when it won only 7 seats. This year it won 29 seats, to become the fourth strongest party in the 250-seat parliament.

The SPS won most seats—123, but it was below the absolute majority line.

Kosovo

Rugova Condemns Serbian Policy, Urges Protection

AU0701163894 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 7 Jan 94

[Text] President of the republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova held a new conference in Prishtina today. Let us follow the telephone report by our correspondent Sherif Konjuca:

[Konjuca] We hope that this year will be the year of agreements and peace in the Balkans, president of the republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said, acquainting reporters with the results of his visit to several Western European countries. Mr. Rugova said that all these meetings displayed a great concern over the situation in Kosova and, in all the high-level talks, the question of Kosova was put forward as an international question. We were promised that the international community will commit itself to solve the Kosova issue fairly.

To avoid the present conflict in Kosova, posing grave consequences for the whole region, we asked that Kosova be placed under an international protectorate so that life returns to normal, democratic institutions be established, and talks about Kosova's future be more eased. The visit of the U.S. President Bill Clinton to Europe and Russia is a good occasion to bring the attitudes for the solution of the problems in former Yugoslavia and the Balkans closer.

Mr. Rugova said that, unfortunately, the Serbian regime is continuing its hard repression against the Albanians in Kosova. Also during last week, many homes of Albanians were raided and many citizens and political activists were maltreated. The attack of the police against the Kosovar sportsmen was particularly very primitive. Severe tortures are being used against prisoners, while their apprehension is illegally prolonged. Lately, groups of Serbian civilians, too, have started to attack people in the streets, something that is worsening relations between neighbors.

Answering a question on the present importance of the Bujan conference, Rugova considered this historic meeting as a permanent inspiration and a strong support for peacefully satisfying the will of the Kosovar people for freedom and independence.

Answering a question by a correspondent as to how long this situation in Kosova will last and how long the people will support his peaceful option, Mr. Rugova answered that the people understand that the other road [the non-peaceful option] will be very tragic for Kosova, because we are completely unprotected here. He said that our movement is developing on the basis of the people's consciousness and the situation we are undergoing. However, we consider the criticisms about our road to be normal.

Mr. Rugova denounced articles in the Serbian mass media on the alleged commitment of hundreds of Albanian fighters in the ranks of Muslims in the world, which aim to compromise our peaceful movement. The truth is that in Bosnia-Herzegovina [words indistinct] 200,000 Albanians live, whereas only in Trajeve, about 100 unprotected Albanians were killed and massacred. A total of 200 others are still detained in the university, and, despite our persistence, they are not allowed to go out as the others have.

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